

Excavations at Lochmaben Castle, Dumfriesshire

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HISTORICAL SUMMARY

The importance of Lochmaben lies in its strategic position. Due to forest and marsh, a traveller to Scotland from Carlisle found it necessary to travel up Annandale and then branch off either westwards for Galloway or north-east for Edinburgh. In either event, it was necessary to travel first as far as Lochmaben. It is not surprising therefore that, when the Brus family motte was destroyed by the river at Annan (Reid 1954, 59), the Brus moved his stronghold to Lochmaben. The Brus motte at Lochmaben stands now on the golf course, and has been much altered by subsequent landscaping. The date of its construction is not known, but it may have been as early as 1173 when William the Lion held the 'castle' of Lochmaben (Anderson 1908, 247). Finds of medieval pottery and tiles suggest that it continued in occupation into the 14th century (Truckell and Williams 1967, 174). Probably it remained in use until it was replaced by the stone castle on the loch. One of the first moves of Edward I at the start of the War of Independence was to gain control of the major strategic points in the Lowlands, notably Berwick, Stirling, Bothwell and Lochmaben (Brown *et al* 1963, 409). The campaigns of 1298 resulted in the capture of a number of these, including Lochmaben, where work was set in hand by Sir Robert de Clifford on the building of a peel or palisade. Eight carpenters, 4 sawyers and 48 workmen were employed on the task and were sent from Carlisle under the protection of 26 crossbowmen (Reid 1953, 61). This, the first peel at Lochmaben, was almost certainly constructed on the site of the later stone castle. The first peel was defended against the Earl of Carrick in 1299, but the siege resulted in orders being given for the defences to be increased (Bain 1888, 1112, 1115). In 1301 the Constable reported that '7000 Scots had burnt our Pele toun and assailed our Pele' (Stevenson 1870, 432). It is probable that the peel remained nevertheless in English hands until 1306, when it may have briefly fallen to Robert Brus before surrendering to the Prince of Wales in that year (Bain 1888, 1803). The fortunes of war changed again, and it would appear that Lochmaben was held by the Scots until 1333, when once more it reverted to the English (Reid 1953, 66). Although there are references to Scottish attacks on it during the 14th century, it seems probable that it remained in English hands until finally reverting to the Scots in 1385 (Reid 1953, 73).

Before this date, however, there are accounts which are of particular interest for the light they shed on the building of the stone castle. The first mention of stone is in 1365, when there is a reference to Robert Bruyn being delivered 'the keeping of Lochmaben Castle (viz the stonework there)' (Bain 1888, IV, 96). This implies that the timber peel was still in existence, but that work on the stone castle had at least commenced. In 1367 de Bohun, then Constable, was granted licence to import 'cementarios, carpentarios et alios operarios' for repair and emendation of defects in the castle (Macpherson 1814, 908a). The most valuable information comes in 1375, when the accounts of William Henrison, elder, give detailed information about castle-building operations. According to his expenses, £4 was spent on timber for a bridge, a brestache (corner

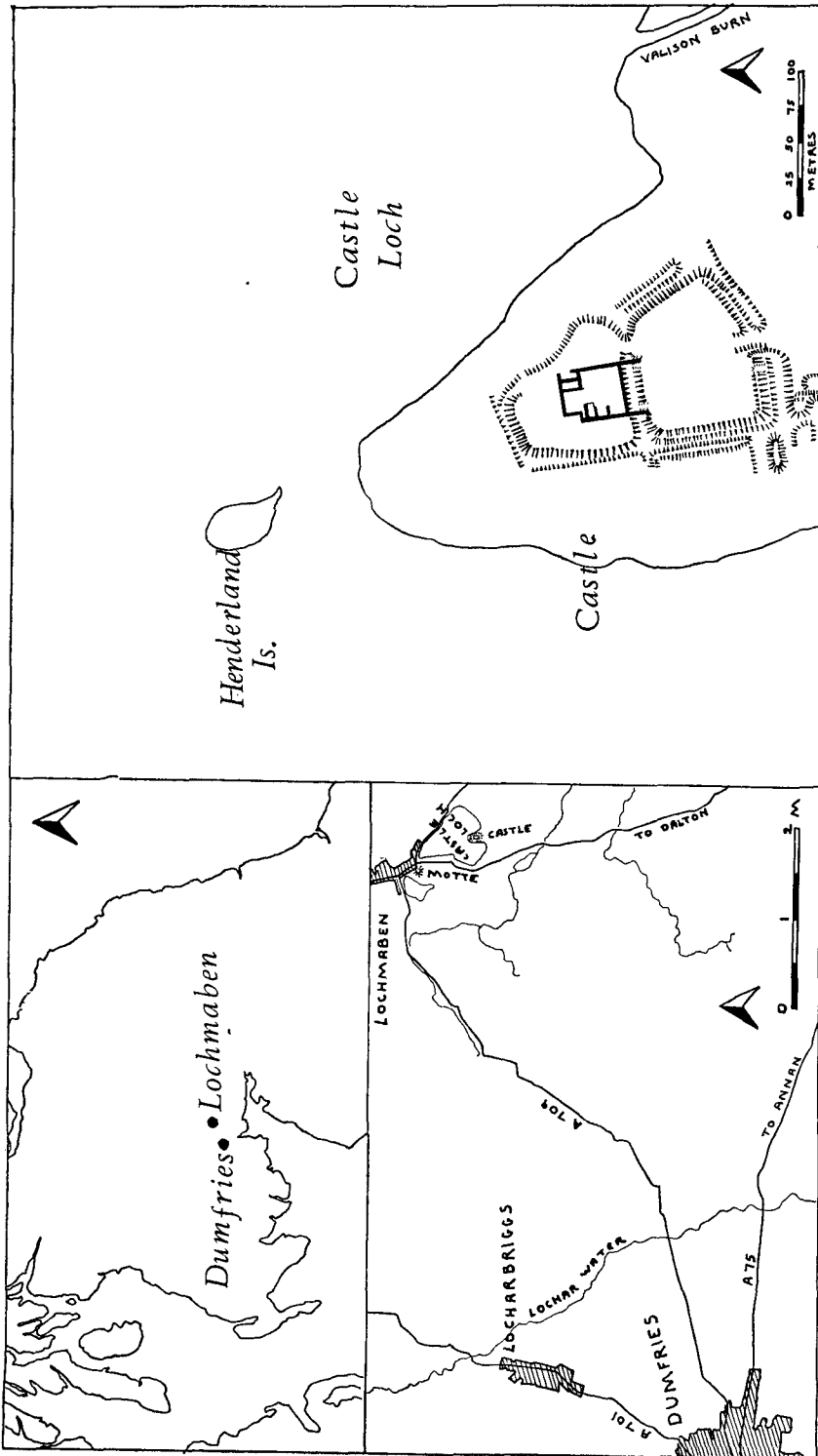


FIG 1 Location map

tower) and houses in the Castle. Two towers were roofed, using 3,000 nails, and hemp ropes were supplied for the bridge. A spade and four scholyrns were used for making the 'bank' of the Castle. The bridge was made *de novo* by a master carpenter with four assistants. The large timber was felled in Ramerscales Wood, while 400 boards were transported from Inglewood Forest for roofing towers. In addition, 28 waggons of reeds were used for thatching the towers. Mention is made of a ditcher, and horses and men were hired from Carlisle (Bain 1888, IV, 223). The work seems to have continued on a similar scale in the following year (Bain 1888, IV, 231). In connection with the operations, mention is made of the construction of a new front, called 'La Pele'. Three carpenters were employed for 13 weeks on this project, employing 11 roods of timber. It is fairly apparent from these accounts that prior to 1365 the castle had consisted only of earthwork defences with associated timber peel and timber buildings, though it is probable some stonework had been employed, if we can assume that Lochmaben peel was in any way similar to that at Linlithgow (Brown *et al* 1963, 413). In 1365 work had begun on the stone castle, the timber peel apparently still being maintained. In 1375 there seems to have been a renewed period of activity in the castle-building operations, when a new front was built. At this point evidence of the accounts suggests that repair work was done on the peel, as indicated by the repair of one of the timber brestaches. The next event is the capture of the castle by the Scots in 1385 by Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway. Contemporary accounts tell us that he 'razed it to the ground' (RCAMS 1920, 153) but this is presumably an exaggeration and refers to the destruction of the timber palisade and associated works and not the stone castle.

The subsequent events in the history of the castle have little bearing on the interpretation of the excavation. In 1445 it became a royal castle under the administration of James II. James IV carried out extensive repairs, and was responsible for the building of the great hall. In 1542 James V used the castle as a base for mustering forces prior to his English campaign. It figures prominently in some of the events of the later 16th century, but apparently fell out of use in the 17th century. In the 18th century it was used as a convenient stone quarry, and by the end of the century, when it was drawn by Adam de Cardonnel for his 'Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland', it was extremely ruinous.

THE EXCAVATIONS (fig 2)

The excavations were concentrated in two main areas, the outer ward of the stone castle and the SW angle of the outer plateau or 'bailey'. Area excavation was employed in the castle due to the fact that the site had apparently been robbed down to foundation level in this area, and probably 'tidied up' for Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887. This was designated Area A. On the plateau the depth of deposits necessitated trenching, but trenches were amalgamated and extended to examine the features at the highest medieval occupation level. To facilitate this, an area was stripped mechanically in 1972. This was designated Area B.

Area A (I in fig 2)

For purposes of excavation and recording, Area A was divided into two sub-areas: AI, to W of the entrance passage roadway found leading N from the main gateway through the front (S) curtain wall of the castle; and AII, to E of it. Strictly speaking, AI and AII were divided by a line drawn arbitrarily down the centre of the roadway, but here the roadway and associated features are described separately. Area excavation was the technique chiefly employed throughout, both sub-areas being expanded piecemeal as required to their final limits in all directions. In addition to the main area of AI, two intersecting trenches, one E-W and one N-S, were dug

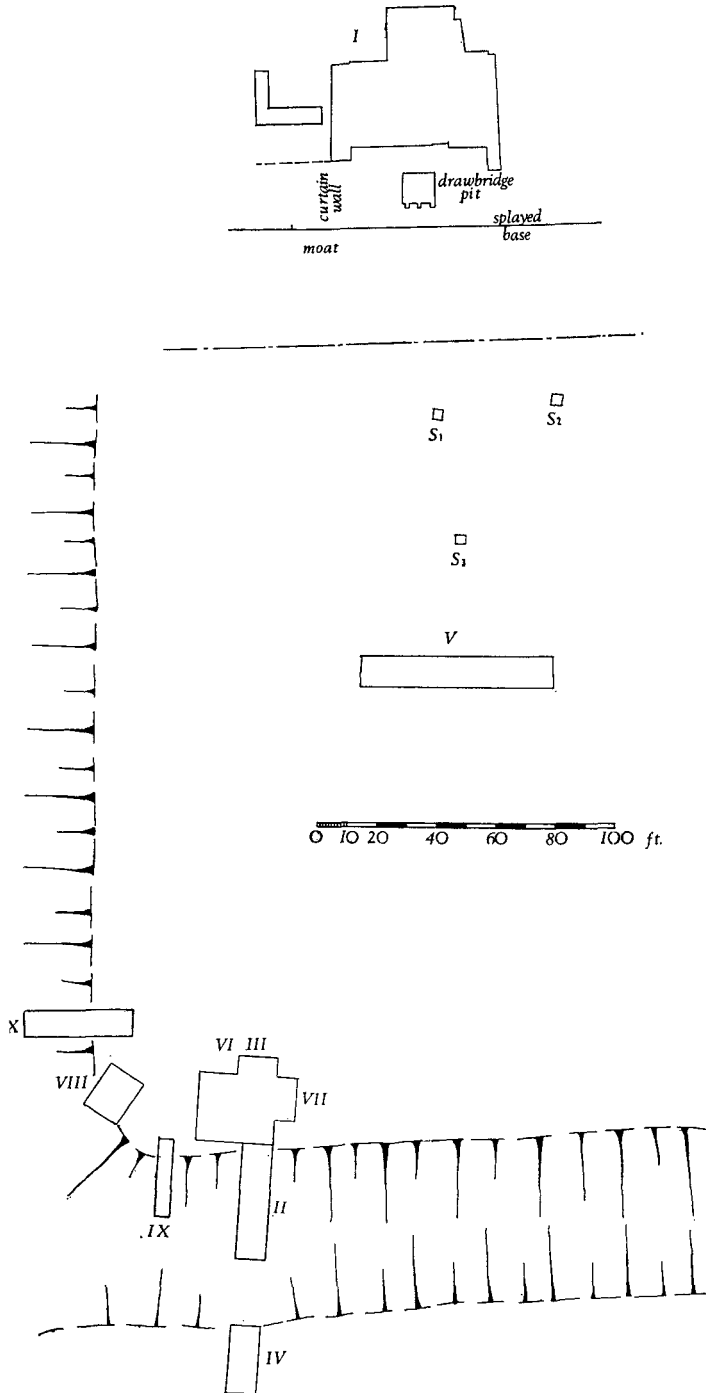


FIG 2 Plan of excavated areas

immediately to W of the W limit of main area AI, in the open space contained in the SW angle of the castle enceinte. The E-W trench ran across the middle of this open space; the N-S one intersected with its W end and ran N alongside the W curtain wall of the castle (fig 2). Both these trenches are described below, but neither is illustrated in detail. In association with the N-S trench, a rough sondage was dug along part of the outer face of the W curtain wall in the corresponding position towards the end of the 1971 season.

The purpose of the excavation in Area A was to determine as far as possible the nature of the internal layout of the castle within a limited area immediately behind the front curtain wall on either side of the main gateway. It has not been thought worthwhile to include here any section drawings, although the overall stratigraphy is described and discussed. Finds of all kinds, stratified and unstratified, were extremely scanty in Area A and generally of slight significance. They are noticed, where relevant, in the description below and under Finds.

Area AI (fig 3)

Below the modern turf was a layer of humus admixed with rubble (some 0.3 m thick on average in the section along the W limit of main area AI). Immediately below this layer were found all the structural features described below.

In the S half of the sub-area the footings of two walls were found, running N and S, parallel to each other and some 2 m apart (1 and 2). Both footings were built of stones and boulders set in buff-coloured mortar. Wall 1 flanked part of the W side of the entrance passage roadway. Both walls had been robbed to below the level of any architectural detail, indeed very largely to below the level of the actual wall faces, though the width of both may be approximately determined. Some of the inner (W) facing stones of Wall 1 survive to a maximum of three courses at the S end; while a raised line of footing stones towards its outer (E) side (dotted line on plan), seems to indicate the position of the face flanking the entrance passage roadway to within a few centimetres. The width of Wall 1 is thus approximately 1.4 m. For Wall 2, two faced slabs in line on the inner (E) side and two (one a course lower than the other) on the outer (W) side (arrowed on plan: both pairs at footing level and therefore possibly not the lowest facing stones of the wall proper), again at the S end, are about 1.5 m apart from face to face. This perhaps indicates a similar width of wall.

At the N end of the surviving length of the footings of Wall 2, on its outer (W) side, was a projecting 'apron' of rubble and buff mortar (3 on plan). In E-W section it was deeply founded (average depth from its surface, about 0.57 m) and massively built – the mortar being strong and the rubble including very large water-smoothed boulders. It was bedded in deposits of gravel.

The footings of Walls 1 and 2, as seen in the section cut across the space between them, curved inwards from top to bottom. They seem, therefore, both to have been founded in existing deposits of gravel, into which their bedding trenches had been dug. At either end of this section, the footings of Wall 1 were still 0.24 m, those of Wall 2 were 0.34 m above the natural boulder clay. Hard red-brown gravel underlay both at these points, but it was not established whether both sets of footings curved down on to the natural, or, as seemed more likely, flattened out to rest on the gravel. There was no sign of foundation trenches distinguished by different fills on either side of Wall 2 or around its associated 'apron'. But along the inner (W) side of Wall 1 ran a band of hard, sandy pink clay with small stones and streaks of dark grey sandy soil. Its average depth was 0.2 m and it rested on the rubble and mortar bottom footings of the wall. At its S end it expanded into the rubble and mortar filled foundation trench along the N face of the short return of the S curtain wall flanking the W side of the gateway. This trench was about 0.77 m deep from its surface to the point where the gravel into which it had been dug appeared to level out on the

bottom. It may have been deeper under the curtain wall return itself here. Some more pink clay, mixed with stones and grey-brown clayey loam, appeared on its surface where it joined the footings of Wall 2, and a scatter of flecks of the same pink clay was found on the surface of the orange sandy gravel which covered most of the rest of the space between Walls 1 and 2.

In the corner formed by the N face of the curtain wall return and the inner face of Wall 1 was found a large post-hole, some 0.5 m in diameter and 0.4 m deep, set into the fill of the curtain wall return foundation trench. It had been backfilled with the same rubble and mortar which contained it: only the admixture of brown earth with its infill betrayed its presence. Subsequently, three small post- or stake-holes, in line with each other and with the one in the corner, the four being roughly equally spaced, were found in the pink clay band along the inner face of Wall 1. Their fill was soft, grey-brown clayey loam, with a little pink clay. All four were some centimetres out from the line of the wall. There was probably a fifth at the N end of the pink clay band. The second (reading from S to N) was 0.22 m deep, the third 0.27 m and the fourth 0.25 m. The pink clay bulged outwards into the orange gravel at nos 3, 4 and ?5. No others were found on this line further N.

Walls 1 and 2 were bonded into the return of the S curtain wall. At the N, the surviving footings of both walls terminated on the line of the S side of an irregularly shaped masonry 'platform' (4 on plan), whose dimensions at the top were 5.6 m (S side) by 4.1 m (W) by 2.8 m (E). This 'platform' was strongly built and deeply founded. It was cased both with big, roughly dressed blocks and with large rubble and boulders and infilled with rubble. It was five courses deep and stepped on its S side – the footings of Walls 1 and 2 abutting and overlying the lower four courses. (Both walls and 'platform' had been robbed to approximately the same level.) The bottom course of the casing on this side rested in part directly on the natural, though a thin deposit of gravel appeared below some of the stones in the central section, between Walls 1 and 2. On the W, the casing was sheer, five courses deep at the SW, but only three to four to N of the break. (In fact, the bottom course appeared only at the SW corner.) The SW corner stone of the bottom course rested on natural and the next to N probably did partially; but on this side the casing was largely founded on deposits of gravel which sloped down from N to S, the courses being stepped down with the slope. The central section of the casing and part of the rubble core behind it had been robbed. On the E side, the second course of the casing was stepped out from the top course, as on the S, but the casing was sheer from there down: four courses in all. At the N end, the bottom course of this side rested on gravel for about a metre, otherwise on the natural: it was thus graded down from N to S rather like the W side. The top course of the 'platform' casing was bonded with buff lime mortar; the lower courses with grey clay. Similarly, the 'platform' had a more or less level surface of rubble and mortar, the rubble containing some large stones, some faced. This top surface was fairly loosely packed and some 0.25 to 0.3 m deep at the E edge of the robbed area on the W side. Below it was rubble and loose grey clay.

Along the central section of the S side of the 'platform', between Walls 1 and 2, ran a somewhat irregular trench. Its fill was dark grey stony soil with charcoal flecks. The pink clay band along the inner side of Wall 1 intruded into it.

On its N side, the 'platform' was bonded into an E-W wall, parallel with the S curtain wall, very well built and of great width (5 on plan). Its N face was missing in the excavated area, but the distance from the outer edge of the ashlar blocks facing its S side on the 'platform' to the probable line of the N face (the line of the N face of the built threshold across the roadway) was approximately 6 m. Its S side, in the short distance between the W side of the 'platform' and the W limit of main area AI, was faced with large ashlar, the bottom two courses both being stepped out slightly from those above. No footing material was visible here: the bottom course of the wall

face rested directly on gravel. This course was apparently bonded with grey clay; those above with mortar. The single course of large ashlar resting at the level of the surface of the 'platform' was advanced slightly from the line of the bottom course immediately to W of the 'platform'. It was, however, established that this course was bonded into the core of the wall and was not, as was at first suspected, the result of 19th-century 'tidying' activities. At this level, a little more than half of the bottom course of ashlar facing survived along the E end of the wall, flanking the W side of the roadway. This course had an outward swing, apparently deliberate, towards the SE corner of the wall, thus appearing to narrow somewhat the passage of the roadway, at least on the W side. Its surviving length rested on heavy underpinning, which also represented the SE corner of the wall. The underpinning, in turn, rested directly on gravel. It consisted largely of roughly dressed ashlar, two to three courses deep and bonded with grey clay. The core of the wall, as excavated, was rubble and mortar. The rubble and mortar surface beyond the probable line of the face of the wall on the N side had a well-defined E edge in the orange gravel surface to N of the built threshold across the roadway.

To W of Wall 2 and the W side of the 'platform' was an apparently open space, 9.6 m E-W by 9.4 m N-S, enclosed on the other three sides by the S and W curtain walls and by Wall 5. There was apparently a sallyport in the W curtain near the SW corner, which was cleared some years ago, but no definite information about it is to hand. Most of the area between Wall 2, the W side of the 'platform' and the W limit of main area AI, below topsoil, was covered by a surface of orange gravel. As with Wall 2 and feature 3, there was no sign of foundation trenches along the W side of the 'platform' and the adjacent section, to W, of Wall 5. Along the S curtain, between the outer face of Wall 2 and the W limit of main area AI, was a belt of hard pink-grey clay and small cobbles, about 1.36 m wide. In section, this proved to be the surface of the foundation trench for the S curtain wall. Its profile showed that it had been dug from the surface of the orange gravel down through further existing deposits of gravel below. The S curtain, bonded with mortar, was found to be built directly on the pink clay, which was something over 1 m deep immediately under the wall face. The clay seemed to be made up of three horizontal deposits of slightly varying texture and amounts of small stones, but this variation had probably no significance.

The return of the curtain wall flanking the W side of the gateway, on the other hand, was founded on heavy rubble and mortar here, as it was further E. Some of the rubble was re-used dressed sandstone. This footing was battered and the pink clay layers rested against it. Further, the surviving ashlar face of the curtain wall proper was brought against, not bonded into, the surviving ashlar face of the return.

The open space was trenched both E-W and N-S during 1971 (above). The E-W trench was 1.5 m wide and the N-S 1.2 m; both produced much the same result. In the bottom of the topsoil was a lot of rubble and a substantial scatter of lime mortar. In the E-W trench, this deposit decreased the further E it extended from the W curtain wall and eventually petered out altogether. Mixed with it and on the surface immediately below the topsoil was found a comparatively large amount of pottery for Area A. The actual gravel surface sloped down from E to W and was levelled up with brown soil of the same consistency as the orange gravel immediately below: in fact the division between the two layers was somewhat arbitrary. The brown soil petered out at the E end of the E-W trench. In the N-S trench, this layer contained a scatter of lime mortar and a large lump of heavy blue-grey clay by the face of Wall 5. On its surface, at the S end, were horizontal linear streaks of charcoal.

At the N end of the N-S trench, the ashlar face of Wall 5 rested directly on gravel, as it did further E.

The lower layers consisted of deposits of gravel and sand resting directly on the natural.

Towards the bottom of the E-W trench, and just over half-way towards its W end, what appeared to be a gully ran N-S across the trench. The vertical height of its E side was 0.54 m and of its W side 0.2 m and its width varied slightly from 0.84 m to 0.96 m. It was dug into clean sand. Its upper fill was clayey gravel and its lower red-brown gravel.

On the inner face of the W curtain wall in the N-S trench, 2.3 m S of the face of Wall 5, a butt joint ran through the bottom five courses. The fourth from the bottom was a plinth course and the ashlar above this was considerably larger. The bottom four courses to S of the butt joint were of noticeably inferior build to those to N of it. The wall here was founded directly on the natural. However, the rough sondage dug along the corresponding section of the outer face of the wall failed to locate a corresponding butt joint. Because of its ruinous condition, it was not possible to obtain an accurate measurement of the width of the wall, but the E curtain, more or less opposite, was approximately 3.5 m wide. The layers on the W side of the sondage – outside the castle enceinte – consisted of topsoil, orange sandy gravel and pinkish gravel which rested on the natural. The N end of the W curtain, on the inner side, appeared to be bonded into Wall 5. Otherwise, both trenches were featureless.

All structures and structural features were built on and in gravel, or on the natural – sometimes on both. In section, the gravel surface below topsoil was the uppermost of two (between Walls 1 and 2) to four (along the W limit of main Area AI) layers of sand and gravel of varying colour and texture. In the latter section the depth of these, between topsoil and natural, varied from 1.2 m to 1.6 m. Below the surface of the uppermost, these layers were uniformly sterile and had the appearance of having been dumped. There was nothing, moreover, to indicate that they had not all been deposited at much the same time. Half a medieval tile (not closely datable) was found in the bottom layer of gravel towards the N end of the sondage dug along the whole length of the W limit of main area AI, 0.07 m above the natural. The gravel lay immediately on the natural subsoil – grey-pink boulder clay – with no trace of an old ground surface intervening anywhere. The position overall was the same in the trenches in the open space, just described, and in the sondage on the outer face of the W curtain wall, but it was not established how far beyond the castle enceinte this general make-up extended in any direction.

Area AII (fig 3)

Late in the 1969 season, a limited rectangular cutting was made to E of the entrance passage roadway to find out what corresponded with the 'platform' and Wall 5 in AI. The cutting was filled to a depth of about 0.4 m from the present ground level with loose soil and rubble, below which was a surface of firm light grey clayey material with small stones and charcoal. On the W side of the cutting, orange gravel, with brown gravel overlying (the E edge of the roadway make-up here: see below), sloped down to meet this surface. In the N section were visible some large stones, one apparently dressed, bonded in light grey clay. The stones, light grey clay and clayey material suggested the presence of features similar to the 'platform' and Wall 5 in AI, though it subsequently transpired that the clayey material was a mixed deposit, probably the result of robbing, and not a structural feature (see below). Extension of the cutting N, E and S in 1970 confirmed the existence of a wall (5A) corresponding with Wall 5 in AI, and of a 'platform' (6).

At the end of Wall 5A, flanking the E side of the roadway, about two-thirds of the bottom course of ashlar survived, bedded in gravel. It was overlain by disturbed material: light sandy grey clay with soil, small rubble and charcoal. It ran from the N face of the wall, but had been robbed out before it reached the line of the S face, as had the core behind it. Immediately behind it (to E) was heavy rubble – consisting largely of sandstone blocks, some dressed – set in grey clay. This appeared at a higher level than the course of ashlar. Projecting beyond the line of the N

face of the wall (to N), a little to E of its NW corner, was what appeared to be a grey clay bonded footing, about 1 m wide and bedded in orange gravel. In fact, it continued the heavy rubble and grey clay northward and was bonded with it. (Two big stones, one dressed, lying immediately E of the E side of this footing were judged not to be *in situ*.) The width of the wall was approximately 6 m: the line of the N face could be followed continuously in the area excavated, bedded in orange

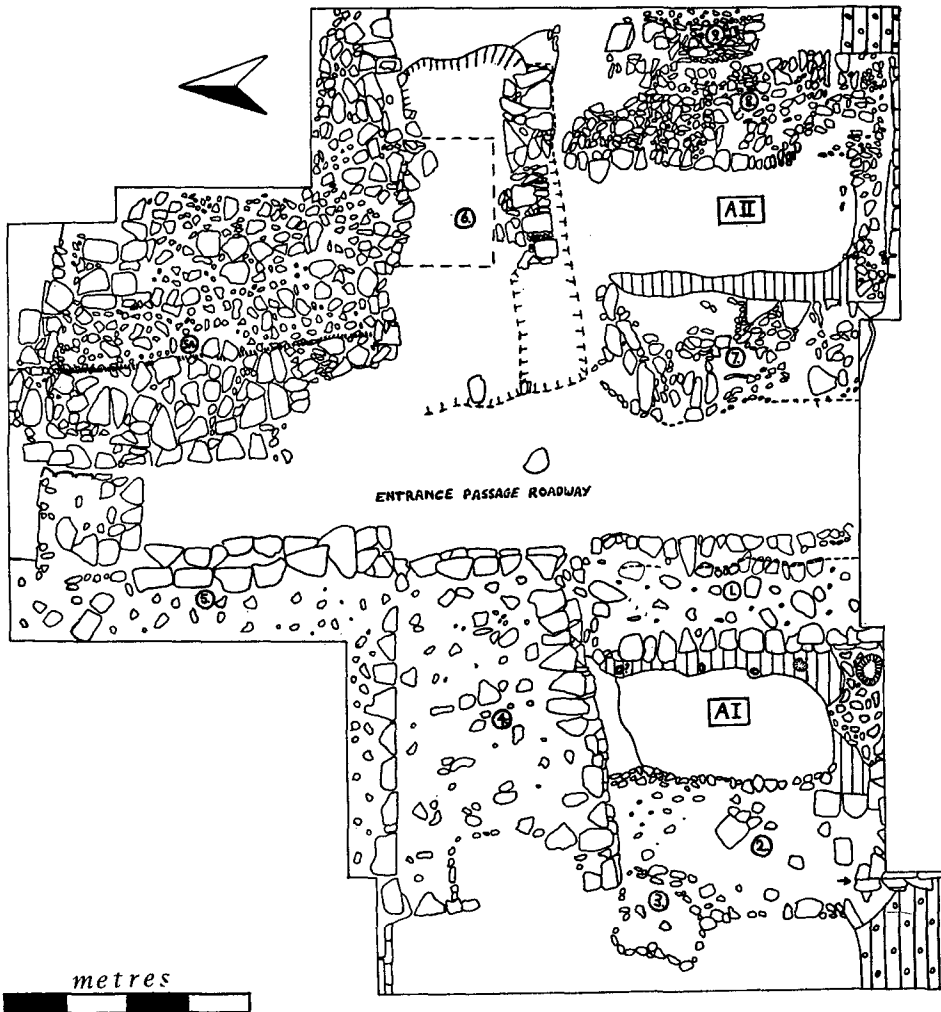


FIG 3 Area A: general plan inside castle

gravel; while a short stretch of the line of the S face was found, between the line of the E side of the 'platform' and the E limit of excavation, also bedded in orange gravel. The core below topsoil was mainly rubble and lime mortar, the rubble consisting of the usual water-worn boulders and pebbles and sandstone blocks, some dressed. A short distance in from the line of the N face at the E end of the excavated length was a number of large dressed blocks. Towards the W end of Wall 5A, the lime mortar bonding most of the excavated core-work formed a distinct N-S line running

almost the entire width of the wall (hatched line on plan). To W of this line, the rubble set in grey clay, already described, was distinctly heavier overall than the rubble set in mortar to E of it.

The 'platform' in AII (6) had been almost entirely robbed out, but its approximate outline and some at least of its structural details were recovered. It appeared to have a rather different shape from that in AI: much the same overall dimensions, but more rectangular: 5.6 m E-W (measured along the S side of the foundation trench: see below) by about 2.8 m deep. Since, moreover, the natural was higher here than under and round the AI 'platform', the method of construction may have been somewhat different.

Along the S side a trench, rectangular in section, had been dug into the natural. At the W end, its depth varied from about 0.25 m to about 0.5 m, according to the variation in the surface level of the natural. The bottom here was flat. In this trench had been laid large, semi-dressed blocks bonded in light grey clay. In the middle section this build survived to two courses of S facing; further E, what was probably just the bottom course survived, the tops of the stones flush with the lip of the trench on the N. This E third had two faces, N and S, and looked exactly like a well-built wall foundation. There was, however, no proper N face to the middle section. The E third footings were 0.8–0.85 m wide; the middle third footings 0.8–0.95 m wide. The W third had been entirely robbed except for one boulder in the NW corner of the trench (W side of 'platform') and infilled with the same disturbance admixture described as overlying the remains of the 'platform' infill (below). The trench here was 0.9–1 m wide, but probably wider than the robbed stonework. Behind this casing or retaining wall (to N), the construction appeared to differ slightly at either end.

On the W side, another isolated facing stone rested on the surface of the natural (which appeared to have been dug into slightly here) 0.76 m N of the surviving boulder in the NW corner of the trench. To N of it was the gravel on which Wall 5A was founded here: the stone in fact retained the gravel. Thus the W side of the AII 'platform' appeared to have been built rather like the E and W faces of that in AI: graded down from N to S, resting on gravel at the N and on or in the natural at the S.

On the E side, the natural sloped down some way from the footings of Wall 5A (which were here built on it) and then levelled off to the lip of the S side trench. The E side of the 'platform' had been entirely robbed out, save perhaps for slight traces of the SE corner.

The infill of the 'platform' was rubble and light grey clay, which survived on top of natural or gravel over most of the bottom. It was deeper on the E than on the W, where the apparently undisturbed fill was only a thin skin. Above this was a layer of mixed sandy light grey clay, rubble, mortar, soil and charcoal: a disturbed deposit resulting from robbing. These deposits were deepest on the S, some 0.3 m, thinning away as the surface of the natural rose towards the N. The middle section of the fill and overlying disturbed material were not removed. Over all this again was loose soil and rubble.

The 'platform' had been bonded into Wall 5A. Nothing of the actual face of the wall survived in the area excavated, unlike Wall 5 in AI. Also, the area of the junction of the line of the S face of the wall and the W side of the 'platform' had been entirely robbed.

Again as in AI, the rubble and mortar footings of two parallel N-S walls (7 and 8), 2.2 m apart, ran towards the 'platform' from the S. The footings of Wall 7 were massively built, incorporating dressed stones and large water-smoothed boulders. Like Wall 1, it had a band along its inner (E) face of firm pink sandy clay, streaked with brown soil; this was 0.43 m deep in its central section and apparently rested directly on the natural. But no post-holes were found in it. Conversely, the surviving footings of Wall 8 were very flimsy: basically one or two layers of small to medium mortared rubble. Both walls were built in and on gravel. The footings of Wall 7, at

their surviving N end at least, rested on a thin skin of compacted gravel lying on natural. The footings of Wall 8 rested on about 0.35 m of sand and gravel above natural. It was impossible to assess the width of the actual walls in either case, though possibly the two large faced stones on the inner side of Wall 7, in line with each other and with a third at the junction with the curtain wall return, represent more or less the position of the wall face. The structural relationship between Walls 7 and 8 and the return of the curtain wall was masked by modern consolidation (but see further below). Also, Wall 8 stopped short on, and Wall 7 a little S of, the line of the S side of the 'platform'.

The space between the two walls, apart from the pink clay band and the rubble and mortar-filled foundation trench of the curtain wall return, was a surface of orange gravel.

In the space to E of the footings of Wall 8 and between them and the E limit of excavation were two features. A band of pink clay and small stones in the SE corner of AII corresponded with the band in the same position in AI (the fill of the foundation trench of the curtain wall proper), but projected a long way out (N) from the line of the curtain here (see further below). The cobble 'apron' (9), attached to the outer (E) side of the footings of Wall 8, also corresponded with that in AI (3). But it was butt-jointed against the footings and was a very flimsy construction as it survived: basically one layer of small to medium rubble, mortar bonded, resting on orange sandy gravel. (The big, roughly squared stone just to N of this was probably not *in situ*.) The rest of the space was a surface of orange gravel.

Modern consolidation created a problem for the excavation along the whole of the S limit of AII. Late in the 1971 season a test sondage was dug in the SE corner, along the outer (E) side of the footings of Wall 8 at its junction with the curtain wall return. This ran 0.7 m N from the line of the N face of the curtain wall return (a course of modern dressed stonework) and 0.7 m S from it – 1.4 m in overall length – and was 0.5 m wide. Its purpose was to find out what the band of pink clay and small stones represented.

The pink clay abutted the rubble and mortar footings of Wall 8 and the curtain wall return. These footings were continuous: therefore Wall 8 at least was bonded into the return. The footings were 0.25 m deep below the E line of modern dressed stonework bordering the return and rested on orange clayey gravel. The pink clay was 0.23 m deep on the S side of the sondage and rested on the same gravel. On the E side of the sondage, it made a long curve upwards and petered out. It was therefore bedded in gravel.

In November 1971, a rough sondage was dug just to S of the SE corner of AII. Its purpose was to find out whether the junction of the curtain wall proper and the curtain wall return and the make-up underlying both were the same as in AI.

At the present foot of the curtain wall proper runs a reconstituted wall foundation, 0.79 m wide (referred to here as the 'plinth' wall). It was found to be built on rubble and mortar footings, which rested directly on the natural. The depth of the natural from the present top of the 'plinth' wall and immediately below its footings was 0.82 m. The natural fell away sharply to N and the ground had been levelled up with red gravel. The band of pink clay and small stones appeared to be 'floating' free in this gravel. An apparent butt-joint between the footings of the 'plinth' wall and those of the curtain wall return was found.

What actually went on here has been masked by modern consolidation and reconstruction. But, in AI, the curtain wall return projects 1 m from the line of the curtain wall proper, whereas in AII it projects 2.19 m from the present foot of the curtain wall proper and 1.4 m from the edge of the 'plinth' wall. It looks, therefore, as though the edge of the 'plinth' wall represents the line of the face of the curtain wall proper.

The general observations made in the context of AI about the deposits of gravel and their

relation both to structures and to the natural hold good for AII – with the qualification that the surface of the natural was generally somewhat higher, and the gravel deposits correspondingly shallower, in the latter sub-area. The excavation of the AII ‘platform’, founded as it was partly in the natural, provided an adequate E-W section, along the S side of the ‘platform’, right across the operative area of AII. It was felt unnecessary to excavate in depth around features whose groundplan made it certain that the same information would be yielded vertically as in AI.

The entrance passage roadway (fig 3)

The surface of the roadway at either end of the excavated length of the entrance passage consisted of hard pink clay and gravel which, at the S end, covered the outermost footings of Walls 1 and 7. Its average depth was 0.09 m and it overlay orange gravel. In between, the surface was a hard, dirty brown gravel also lying directly on orange gravel. As usual, this orange gravel appeared to have been dumped and rested directly on the natural. It was otherwise featureless, except for some wadges of grey clay in the vicinity of the footings of the E side of the AI ‘platform’ and of the end of Wall 5, and one or two patches of ash and some twigs.

At the N end of the passage between Walls 5 and 5A was a built stone threshold, 1.8 m wide. It had an ashlar facing, two courses deep – at least on the S side, which was bonded with light grey clay – and a rubble and grey clay core. It was built in and on gravel. The threshold was apparently bonded into Wall 5, but abutted the end face of Wall 5A. Its upper course of facing had been disturbed, at its SE end, by a shallow, narrow, irregular gully dug into the gravel in the roadway (not shown on plan).

Area AIII (fig 4)

The counterweight pit and south front were stripped of turf in 1968, and the counterweight pit cleared out. The bottom was clean, with a spread of cobbles, and it was faced with good ashlar. An attempt was made to pump out sufficient water from the moat to excavate it at least partially, but this proved impossible as water welled up as rapidly as it was pumped out. There is reason to believe, however, that the moat has been cleaned out at least twice since the 19th century. As far as could be ascertained, a wall of ashlar rose up from the bottom of the moat almost vertically, then ran in a 45° splay to the height of the top of the counterweight pit, from where the front curtain rose vertically. The existing platform or ledge now apparent in front of the counterweight pit is the result of post-medieval stone robbing.

No medieval bridge abutment was encountered in 1969 on the counterscarp of the moat, but the foundation of the Victorian 1887 Jubilee bridge was encountered at water-level following clearance. During the winter of 1969 a drop in the water-level revealed that this abutment was built on top of an ashlar pier, presumably the medieval bridge abutment. There is no evidence above water-level that the slope of the counterscarp was at any time faced with ashlar or other masonry.

The entrance passage through the south front was stripped of turf, but it was found that this section of the entrance had been robbed of its clay surface and had been denuded to the stone foundation. This was ashlar faced with a rubble core as in the case of the other foundations investigated in Area A.

Discussion (fig 5)

Quite clearly, three distinct phases are represented in the construction of the front of the castle, though, for reasons which will be considered, it seems likely that all three belong to the same overall building operation and that the timescale involved is a short one.

Phase I The great width of the wall 5/5A is very odd, if it was from the start an internal wall.

LOCHMABEN CASTLE GATEHOUSE 1968

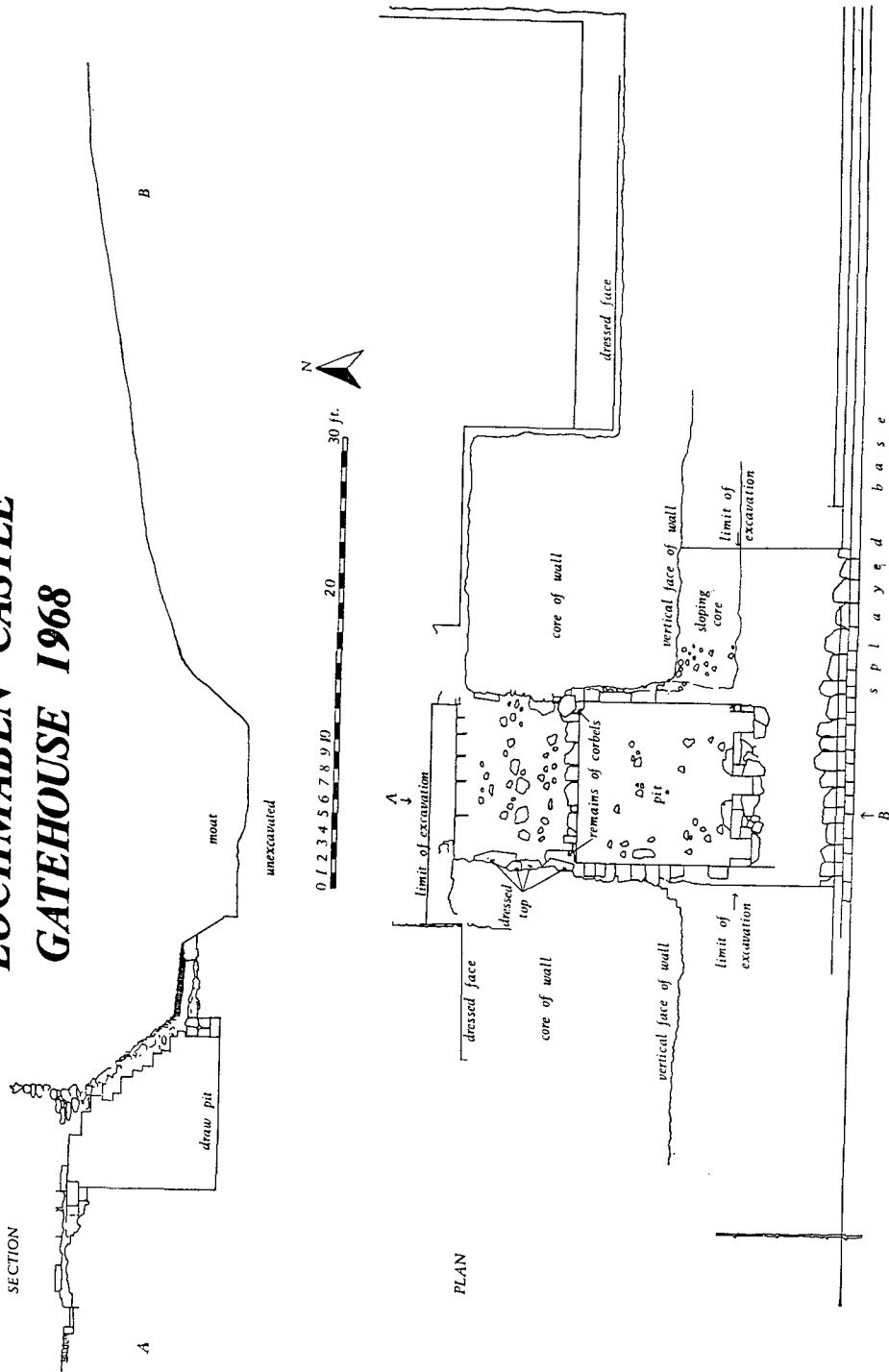


FIG 4 Area A: plan and section of south front

Furthermore, the two 'platforms' have no discernible function in the context of the excavated groundplan as a whole: the crude strength and basic asymmetry now only displayed completely by that in AI indicate both that they were designed to support structures much more substantial than Walls 1 and 2, 7 and 8, and that they were not intended to appear above ground. The stepped S side in AI and well-founded S side in AII point to superstructures which faced, operatively, in this direction.

The conclusion seems unavoidable, therefore, that the wall 5/5A was originally intended to

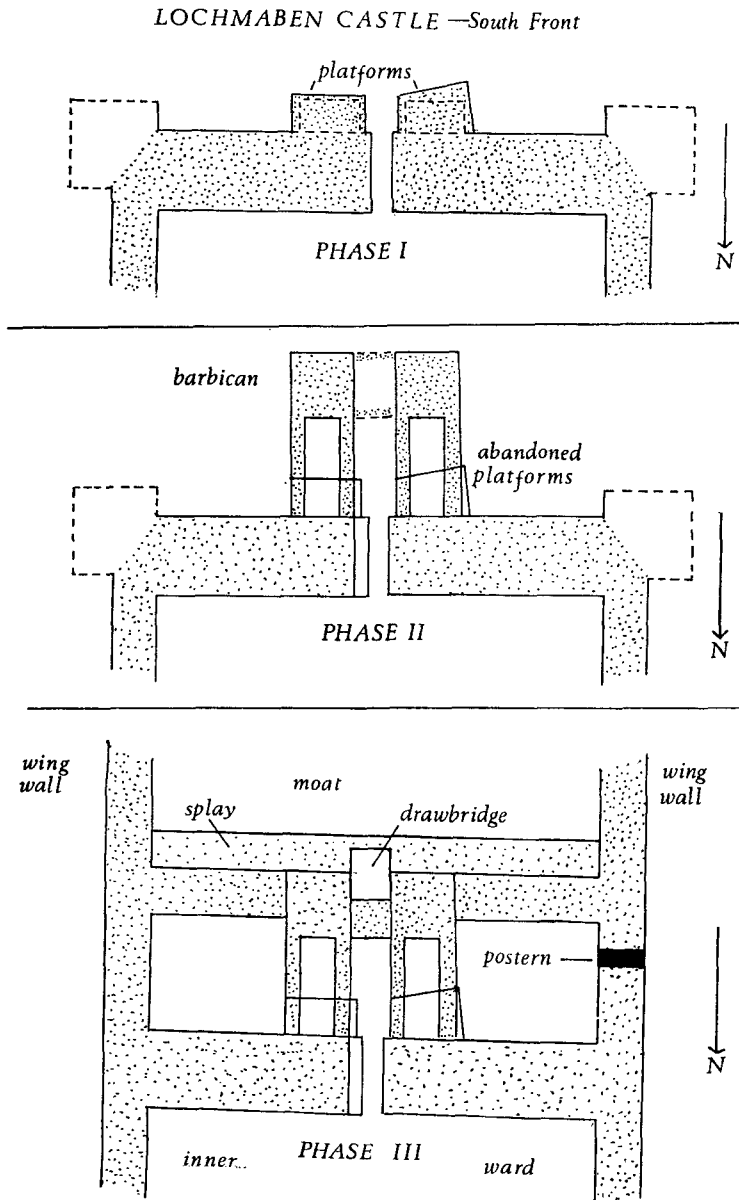


FIG 5 Area A: interpretation

be the S curtain wall of the castle and that the 'platforms' carried towers, probably rectangular, flanking the gateway. It is further possible that wall and towers contained accommodation in their upper levels and thus that the primary plan was for a gatehouse keep, somewhat on the lines of Caerlaverock. Certainly, the other walls of enceinte are comparatively thin.

The N end of the W curtain wall is of one build with Wall 5. This, taken together with the butt-joint in the bottom five courses of the W curtain to S of the junction and the distinct change in the quality of the foundation stonework immediately to S, suggests that (probably) square corner towers were envisaged at this stage. The fact that no corresponding butt-joint was found on the outer side of the W curtain indicates that the building of this corner tower at least did not proceed very far.

Phase II The siting of the Phase I S curtain left a considerable gap between it and the putative existing timber works beyond the moat (at this stage a ditch associated with the timber works?). Possibly this gap was enclosed on E and W by palisades. But this potential weakness probably underlies the change in the design of the gateway which marks Phase II. In this phase, what are now the stumpy returns of the present S curtain were built and, from them, Walls 1 and 2, 7 and 8, brought northwards over the now abandoned tower platforms to the line of the Phase I S curtain. Thus a long barbican entrance was formed, with narrow guardchambers on either side of the passage, extending up to the present moat.

The Phase I entrance was a much narrower one than the Phase II forward entrance: 1.85-1.9 m wide as opposed to about 3.2 m. In Phase II it seems to have been widened to 3.5-3.7 m, to conform to the width of the new forward entrance and that of the passage connecting both. This is based on the assumption that the N-S line of mortar across Wall 5A represents more or less the position of the Phase II E side of the Phase I entrance. The axis of the line of mortar may be connected with the eastward swing of the SE end of Wall 5, and may indicate that the new inner entrance was deliberately off-centred for greater security. The built features running N at either end of the Phase I threshold are, it is suggested, northward returns of the Phase I curtain, analogous to those arrived at for the Phase III curtain.

Phase III. Finally, the re-entrants formed by the Phase I curtain and the Phase II barbican were enclosed by throwing walls forward from either end of the Phase I curtain (ending in the wing-walls over the moat, presumably to link up with the timber works) and by building a new S curtain on the line of the Phase II forward entrance. Probably at this stage, also, the moat proper was constructed, with the associated splay at the foot of the curtain and the drawbridge. The difference and relationship between the make-up underlying the present curtain wall proper and that underlying its returns, at least in AI, as well as the butt-jointing of the ashlar facing, make it clear that the curtain wall is later in the building sequence than its returns. The rectangular enclosures thus formed between the Phase I and Phase III curtains and on either side of the Phase II barbican are almost certainly open courtyards, surfaced with gravel – a surmise strengthened by the comparatively high incidence of pottery in the courtyard cuttings in AI.

The overall stratigraphy of the deposits of gravel makes it clear that they were laid at much the same time. The relationship of structures and gravel generally, and the usual absence of foundation trenches in particular, show further that the gravel was being laid during building. Thus no great interval can have elapsed between the start of Phase I and the start of Phase III. The archaeological evidence, therefore, seems to accord well with the documentary evidence. In or shortly before 1365 the stone castle had been begun behind (to N of) the putative peel, on the tip of the promontory; and it had probably been substantially completed by 1385, when Lochmaben fell finally to the Scots. It is tempting to equate the new front called 'La Pele' of 1375 with the Phase III curtain, but such an equation may raise philological complications.

The fact that no old ground surface was found at any point between the gravel and the natural is interesting; it is scarcely likely that the builders would have stripped off the overburden down to the subsoil simply to dump gravel on it (in any case, the surface of the natural was not uniformly covered with gravel). The answer must be that the castle was built on what was then the tip of the promontory, which was at the level of the loch and more or less frequently awash. The position of the mouths of the moat and of the main ditch show that the surface of the water was then considerably higher than it is now and that the shoreline must have been quite close to the castle walls (fig 1). The gravel, therefore, was dumped to provide an easily draining surface for the operative occupation level within the castle. The choice of such an apparently uncomfortable situation for the stone castle was probably dictated by two considerations: the existence of the peel immediately to S, and the desire to present as tight a front as possible to an attacking force, which could only have approached from the S.

Minor features are sometimes more difficult to interpret. The 'aprons' (3 and 9) are probably the footings for doorsteps, indicating the positions of the doorways leading from the guard-chambers into the courtyards. That the surface of the foundation trench for the Phase III curtain in AI also served as a cobbled walk is underlined by the fact that the corresponding feature in AII appears to have no other function. The pink clay bands along the inner sides of Walls 1 and 7 probably had to do with some structure (they are not foundation trench fills). The post-holes along the band in AI suggest supports for a wooden bench (the big post-hole in the corner, apparently deliberately infilled, may be modern and not associated), but in that case the apparent absence of post-holes along the band in AII is problematical. The other pink clay occurring in the S half of the AI guardchamber, in conjunction with the pink clay band in AII, points to rammed pink clay floors in both guardchambers. The ragged trench along the middle section of the S side of the AI tower platform was dug and infilled before the pink clay band of Wall 1 was laid, as the latter protrudes into it. The only suggestion that can be made regarding it is that the builders of Phase II had forgotten, or did not know, how the platform had been constructed and wished to ascertain the nature of its foundations before bringing Walls 1 and 2 across it. The 'gully' in the E-W courtyard trench of AI may have come about accidentally in the course of dumping the sand and gravel here: it has otherwise no obvious purpose. The gully in the entrance passage roadway is probably recent.

The interior of the castle has generally the appearance of having been levelled and tidied up – possibly at the time of the Jubilee celebrations in 1887. This may have caused damage to structures over and above the heavy and extensive robbing of stonework.

Area B

Excavation (figs 6, 7, 8)

Excavation in Area B was concentrated in the SW sector of the 'bailey' with the purpose of establishing the character and date of the earthworks and possible associated features. A cutting was made from the crest of the bank to the bottom of the ditch (Cutting II), the alignment of which was continued in a smaller cutting on the counterscarp bank (Cutting IV). During the excavation the original Cutting II was extended by further cuttings to form Areas II/III/VI/VII (henceforward designated 'main area B'). Cutting VIII was located on the extreme SW angle of the bailey, with the intention of establishing whether additional defences were employed at this point. Cutting X was excavated immediately to the N of VIII. Cutting IX was mechanically excavated between the main area B and Cutting VIII. In the interior of the bailey Cutting V was made to determine the make-up of the deposits above natural at this point, and three sondages

(S1, S2, S3) dug to test the extent of the cobbles located in Cutting V. The relative position and dimensions of these cuttings and sondages is given in fig 2.

In Cuttings II, VIII and IX natural orange gravel was reached at a depth of about 2 m. In Cutting X natural was not reached after a depth of 2.5 m. Above the natural surface were deposits of silts to a depth of about 0.5 m on average except in Cutting VIII, where they averaged only 0.6 m in thickness.

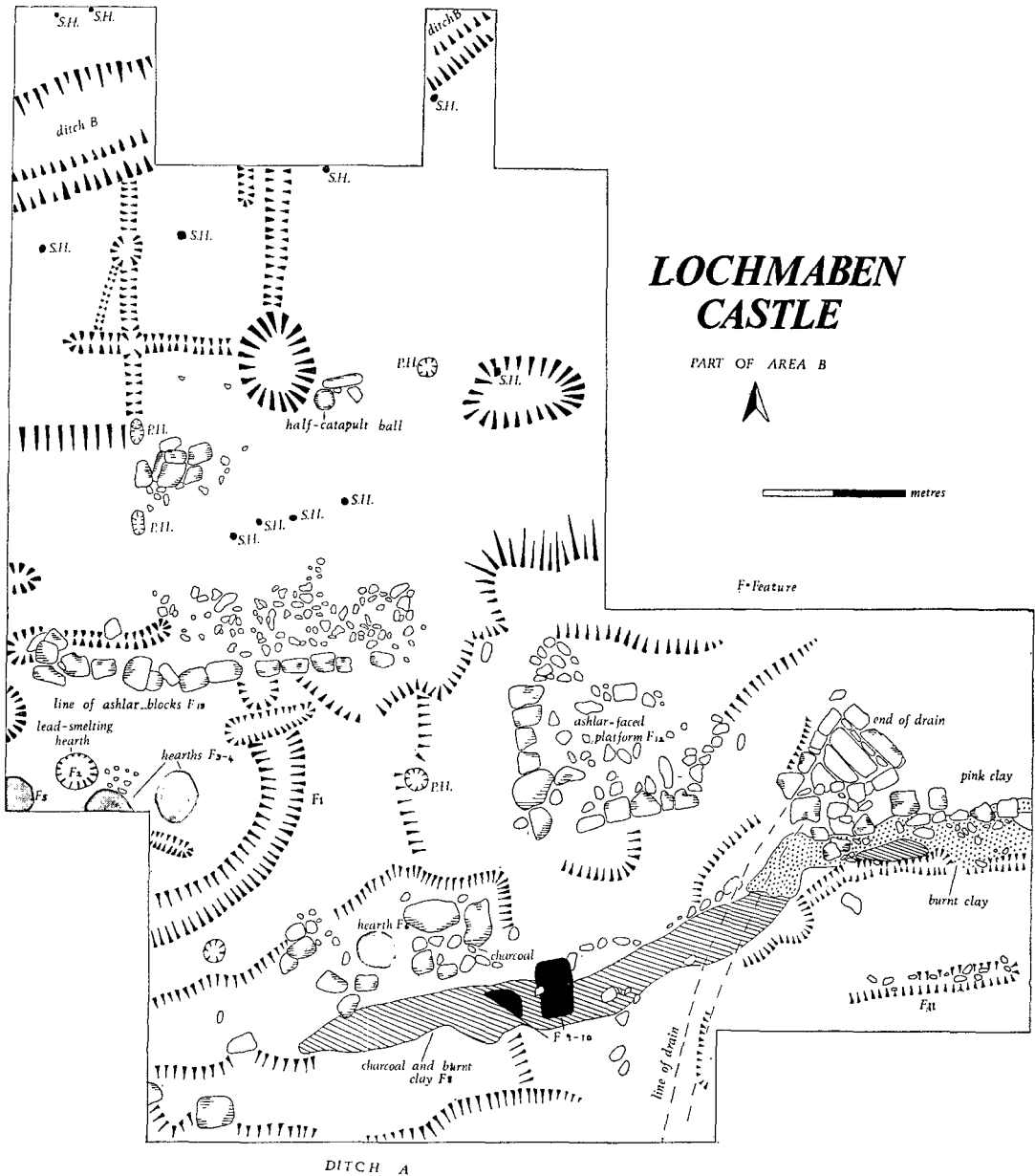


FIG 6 Area B: general plan of features on top of pink clay

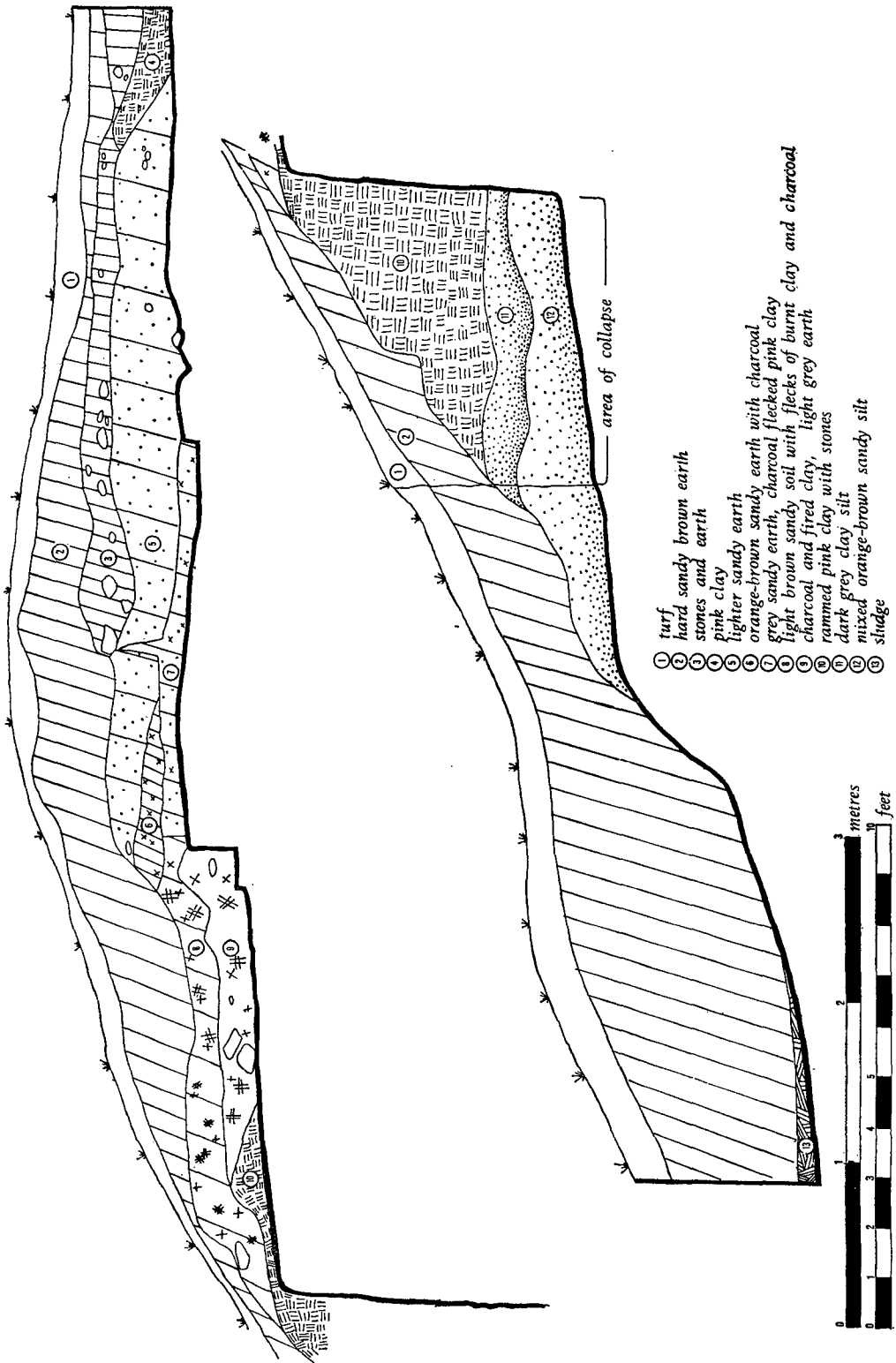


Fig 7 Cutting II: ditch section, W face

In Cutting VIII a square-sectioned trench ran diagonally across the SW corner, measuring 1 m in width and 0.35 m deep. It was dug into the silt down to the natural. On the N lip of the trench was a layer of pink clay about 0.05 m thick overlying the silt. This covered a triangular patch on the edge of the trench. A metre deposit of mixed brown soil with patches of charcoal and clay sloped down to about 0.3 m behind the line of the trench, overlying the silt. The trench contained three sherds of pottery, one a jug rim waster, of late 13th-early 14th-century date, and was otherwise filled with light brown soil.

Overlying the silts was a thick deposit of pink clays. In Cutting II the clay appeared to have been built up in a solid mass to a depth of about 1.25 m, but in Cuttings IX, X and VIII bands of pink clay were associated with deposits of rusty brown soil, soil and clay and bands of charcoal. These patches of charcoal were mostly restricted, except in Cuttings IX and X where they extended in a layer 0.05 m thick across the entire cutting, mixed with small fragments of animal bone. In Cutting X a second band of charcoal extended over the cutting at the level at which excavation stopped for safety reasons, at a depth of 2.55 m. A section excavated mechanically in Cutting V showed that here, as in Cutting II, there was an unbroken build-up of pink clay above the silt which overlay the natural. Limitations of time prevented area excavation of these deposits, and no features were recorded.

In Area B the excavation reached a depth of about 1 m—the surface of a deposit of pink clay which extended over the entire area. Into this in the E sector a series of gullies and hollows had been dug. Several post-holes were found but did not form coherent patterns. A group of four stake-holes about 0.1 m deep were in rough alignment. A curved gully, F1, averaging 0.2–0.3 m deep, delineated an area in which there were two spreads of charcoal and two shallow bowl-shaped depressions in the clay (Features 2–5), about 0.1 m deep at the greatest extent, filled with ash and scrap lead. A further area of charcoal (Feature 6), possibly a hearth, was found to the SE.

The most substantial feature was a ditch (Ditch B) running at an angle to the edge of the main ditch of the bailey (Ditch A). This U-shaped ditch terminated at its E end in an extension of Cutting II (not shown on plan). It measured 1.6 m wide at its greatest extent and was on average 1.2 m deep. It contained very little rapid silt, suggesting it was filled almost immediately after being dug. The fill consisted of fine brown sandy earth and produced one sherd of medieval pottery, probably of the 14th century. On each side of Ditch B was an irregularly spaced line of stake holes, averaging 0.1 m deep.

In the E sector of Area B a stone-lined drain, built of slabs of re-used ashlar, was partly set into the pink clay. It terminated at the N in a stone-lined 'basin' 4.5 m back from the edge of Ditch A and except for the basin was completely covered with a layer of pink clay identical to the main clay layer. It ran N-S and disgorged into Ditch A. A line of charcoal, burnt clay, and part of an oak beam of rectangular section which had become partly bedded into the underlying pink clay overlay the drain and ran diagonally across the area excavated for a distance of about 6 m. Incorporated into this burnt spread (Feature 8) were two carbonised pieces of wood, one rectangular, the other D-shaped in section (Features 9 and 10). To the SE of the drain in the extreme E corner of the area a gully (Feature 11) was encountered running parallel to the edge of Ditch A. It was associated with charcoal, and stones and charcoal extended to the N. The clay under it and to the N showed signs of burning. Feature 12 was two rough lines of blocks of re-used ashlar at an angle to one another with a spread of smaller stones occupying a roughly rectangular area 1 m by 1.2 m. This feature was partly set in the pink clay and was also covered by pink clay, from which a few of the ashlar stones protruded.

Above these features in or immediately above the surface of the pink clay in Area B was a build-up of light brown sandy soil, darker brown soil, patches of clay and some stones. Almost

all the finds from Area B came from the bottom of this deposit, resting on or immediately above the pink clay. The deposit averaged a metre in thickness.

A line of ashlar blocks, about 1 m to the W of Feature 12, lay in the brown soil about 10 mm above the clay. This line (Feature 13) comprised unbonded blocks running for 2.5 m roughly parallel with Ditch A. On the same level in the brown earth lay half a stone catapult ball and a spread of stones behind the ashlar blocks of Feature 13.

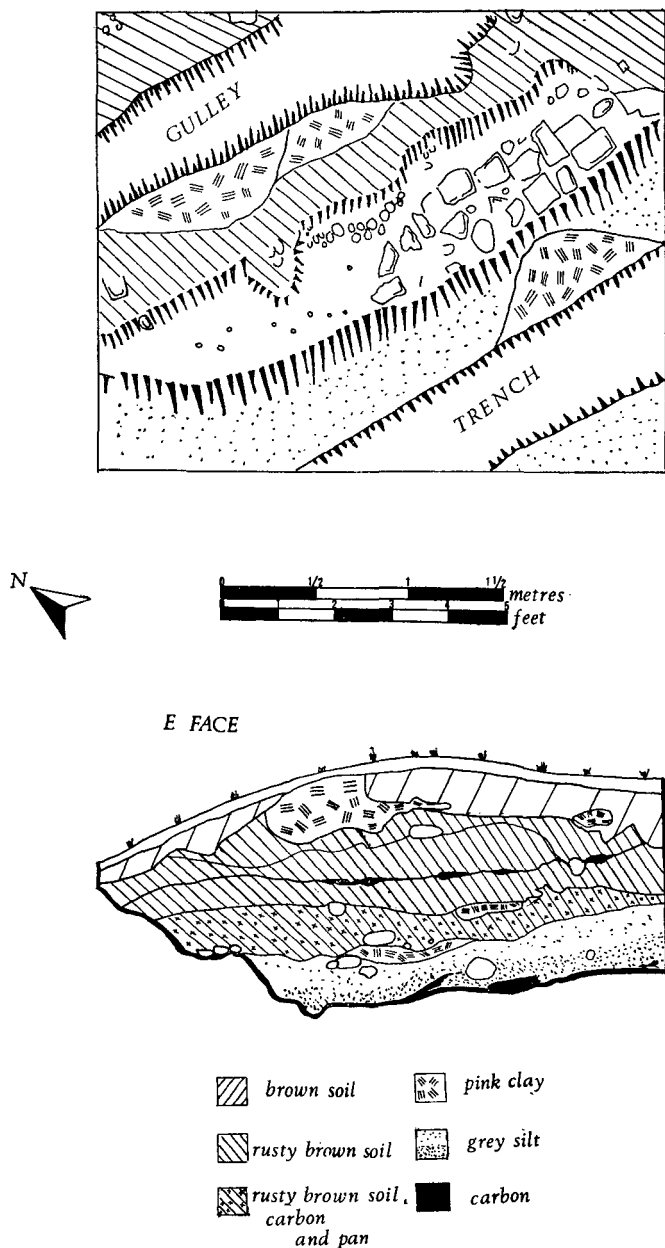


FIG 8 Area B: cutting VIII, plan and section of E face

Beneath the brown soil in Cutting VIII a gully was encountered 0.5 m wide and 0.03 m deep, cut into the mixed clay and brown soil deposits. In front of it, on the crest of the slope of Ditch A, were several large blocks of stone, two of which were re-used ashlar, resting on clay. The largest was checked for a door or window rebate.

In Cutting V a band of cobbles 7 m wide lay immediately beneath the topsoil at a depth of 0.5 m, running N-S.

In Cutting IV, on the counterscarp of Ditch A, compacted pink clay lay immediately below the topsoil, at a depth of about 0.2 m, and excavation was not continued.

Interpretation

From the excavation it is apparent that the whole of the platform which now composes the 'bailey' was built up artificially with pink clay, which could have been found locally, to a height of over 1.25 m. This overlay silts. For some reason the extreme SW corner was built up to the height of the rest of the platform with a mixture of earth, clay and stones. The trench at the lowest level in Cutting VIII may have been for a sleeper beam supporting a revetment palisade. There was no evidence for a similar revetment for the ditch at this point in Cutting II, though a shallow step in the slope could have been for some kind of revetment material (see fig 7), such as a palisade or a retaining wall.

The gully behind the lip of Ditch A (Feature 11) can be interpreted most reasonably as a palisade trench, probably supported by tie beams anchored by the stones behind it. The stone-lined drain presumably led from the inside of the enclosure under the palisade into the ditch. This palisade may have been furnished with a gateway adjacent to the area of excavation – although no gateway was found in excavation a heavy bronze stud, of the type used for strengthening a door or gate, was found near the line of the palisade in main area B (see bronze finds no. 4). No dating evidence is available for the construction of the clay platform. The trench in the lowest level of Cutting VIII contained early 14th-century pottery in its infill, suggesting that the palisade putatively erected in it was not much later than 1300. The burnt spread from the destruction of the palisade in main area B represented by Feature 8 overlay in part the stone-built drain which was made of re-used ashlar blocks, while other re-used ashlar blocks served as an additional revetment to Ditch A in Cutting VIII. Unless the blocks belong to the building of some substantial stone structure pre-dating the existing castle, they must belong to the main castle-building phase or later, that is, they cannot be earlier than the mid-14th century, and the fact that they are re-used implies that the upper palisade dates from 1360 or later.

The finds from above the pink clay, i.e. in the brown earth, are all in keeping with a late 14th-century date, and it would appear that all the structural features and finds can be associated with a 'work camp' for the builders of the stone castle in the 14th century. The gullies and ditch can be interpreted as water carrying channels for metalworking. The lead smelting hearths could have been for roof lead, and quantities of iron slag were also found. The presence of pot wasters in Ditch B might suggest nearby pottery kilns, for pottery seems to have been made to supply individual castles, such as Caerlaverock (Dumfriesshire) and Bothwell (Lanarkshire), and the considerable quantity of ironwork recovered is in keeping with the existence of a nearby forge. The hearths, post-holes and stake-holes probably represent the remains of buildings used by the castle builders. Animal bone was absent.

Neither the palisade burnt spread nor the ditch associated with the metalworking are in line with the main ditch, though they are parallel to one another. It is possible that the profile of the ditch in this corner was altered when the area was subsequently landscaped, though this seems unlikely since there is no archaeological evidence for such an operation.

After the stone castle was built, the S sector of the bailey seems to have been abandoned, but much of the rest was cobbled over to form a yard. At some unknown date, probably late in the occupation of the castle, a cobbled approach road was built to the castle across the bailey, remains of which were found in Cutting V.

There appears to have been some disturbance of the SW sector of the bailey in the late 17th century. This would account for the character of the brown earth above the pink clay, and also for a fragment of late 17th-century pipe, an animal bell of silvered bronze, and a few sherds of late 17th-early 18th-century pottery towards the top of this layer. This may have been the period at which the bailey was landscaped, the build-up being contoured to produce an artificial bank at the crest of the ditch, and the whole bailey given its present regular profile.

THE FINDS

Objects of Metal

Bronze (fig 9)

Very little bronzework was recovered during the excavations, and, apart from a fragmentary pin, came exclusively from Area B. One possible reason for this is the very acid nature of the soil – green stains were noted in several instances on stones or in the soil, but nothing could be made of them. A few oxidised objects are however to be noted.

- 1 Rim of a two-handed skillet, with base of handle attachment. Approx rim diam 15 cm. This is a very common type of two-handed cooking vessel, which seems to have replaced pottery cooking pots during the 14th century. Examples have been associated with coin hoards at Aberdeen (deposit dated 1466), Langhope, Aberdeenshire (date of deposit uncertain but late 14th century – latest coins of Edward III), and Montraive, Fife (deposit c 1356), and are illustrated in Thompson 1956, pls III-V. Coin and other evidence would suggest they continue into the 16th century, and the general type of tripod pot, normally of iron, continued with little modification into the post-medieval period. In England there is some evidence for similar vessels as early as the 12th century, but they do not appear to become very common until the later Middle Ages. For discussion of English examples, see LMMC 1954, 205.
- 2 Fragment of bronze, probably from the neck of a skillet.
- 3 Uncertain fragmentary object, probably the leg from a large skillet. Length 6 cm.
- 4 Bronze stud with polygonal head showing traces of hammering. Length: 5.2 cm. Probably from a fairly large wooden gate or door. Found with burnt wood in the break in the palisade line in Area B, and possibly from the palisade gate.

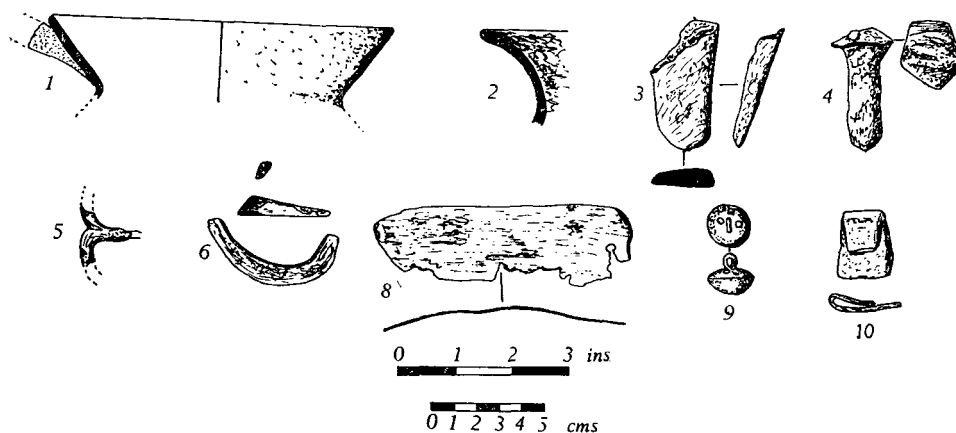


FIG 9 Bronzework

- 5 Fragment of small bronze double buckle. This is a fairly common medieval type. Cf LMMC 1954, pl LXXVII, 8. From the top of the pink clay behind the palisade.
- 6 Fragmentary piece of curved bronze. Probably from a large buckle. Cf LMMC 1954, pl LXXVI, 4 for probable type.
- 7 Fragment of plate bronze tube. Found along with no. 8 in the palisade debris. (Not illustrated)
- 8 Bronze rectangular plate with corner perforations. Length: 11.5 cm. Breadth: 3 cm. Probably a box mount.
- 9 Small gift-bronze harness bell, with two sounding holes. Small impressed stamp with R in rectangular incuse. Probably 17th century. From disturbed level containing 17th-century material connected with the 'farmyard scarping'.

Lead (fig 9)

Apart from several large amorphous lumps of lead associated with the smelting hearths only one lead item was found.

- 10 Clipping from roughly bent lead tube. From disturbed levels.

Iron

The ironwork from Lochmaben Castle represents a particularly interesting and varied collection, though there is a preponderance of horse gear and very little which relates to crafts. There are relatively few collections of medieval ironwork from Scotland, the two most important being those from Caerlaverock Castle (Dumfries, publication forthcoming) and Castle Urquhart (Inverness, see Appendix C below). Apart from these there is the small group from Kirkcudbright Castle. Other sites have produced only two or three finds of iron objects, though among the few finds from a house site at Torrs Warren, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, the clench nails are of some comparative value. Until recently, medieval ironwork was a relatively neglected field of study, the most useful collections of published material being those from London, Seacourt, Oxford (Biddle 1962), Somerby DMV, Lincs (Mynard 1969) and West Whelpington, Northumberland (Jarrett 1970). The main value of the Lochmaben ironwork lies in the fact that it can be assigned with reasonable confidence to the 14th century. Slag and other ironworking refuse indicates that at Lochmaben, as at Caerlaverock, much of the ironwork was produced on the site. The quantity represented here, as at Caerlaverock and Castle Urquhart, is perhaps surprising in view of medieval reports on the shortage of iron in Scotland. In this context the number of recorded open ironworking sites of presumed medieval date in Dumfriesshire may be noted (Williams 1967). In all about 150 iron objects were recovered, the majority being nails of various sizes. Much of the ironwork was very corroded, and identification was not always possible. The most interesting finds are as follows:

(a) *Horsegear* (fig 10)

- 1 Two-link snaffle bit. The terminal of one link is decorated with an incised cross. These are virtually undatable and were used throughout the Middle Ages. See LMMC 1954, 80.
- 2 Rowel spur. Large eight-pointed rowel. Mid to late 14th century. It can be compared with LMMC 1954, fig 34, 6, from the Thames at Westminster (but this has a 6-pointed rowel). The type is illustrated on a brass of Sir John Gifford (d 1348) at Bowers Gifford, Essex.
- 3 Rowel spur. Similar in general type, terminals and rowel missing. The body is more gently curved than on (2), LMMC 1954, fig 34, 4, can be compared, of the late 14th century, but with a different type of terminal. This one is probably of the late 14th century also.
- 4 Fragment of what is probably the side of a spur.
- 5 Square harness buckle.
- 6 D-shaped harness buckle.
- 7 Rectangular harness buckle.
- 8 Stirrup-shaped harness buckle.

The above illustrate the range of harness buckles encountered at Lochmaben and current in medieval Scotland. They are matched by the series from Castle Urquhart. LMMC 1954, pl LXXIX, nos 1-4 can be compared, as can the series of buckles from Somerby (Mynard 1969, fig 11, 30-37). With the exception of no. 8 they are represented at Seacourt (Biddle 1963, fig 30, 14-17, all pre-1400).

- 9-11 Horse-shoes, typical of many from the site. Plain outline, nail holes not countersunk, no calkins apparent. The proportions have not attained the full breadth and weight of 15th-century shoes but are more substantial than those of the earlier period; in general terms they are in keeping with a

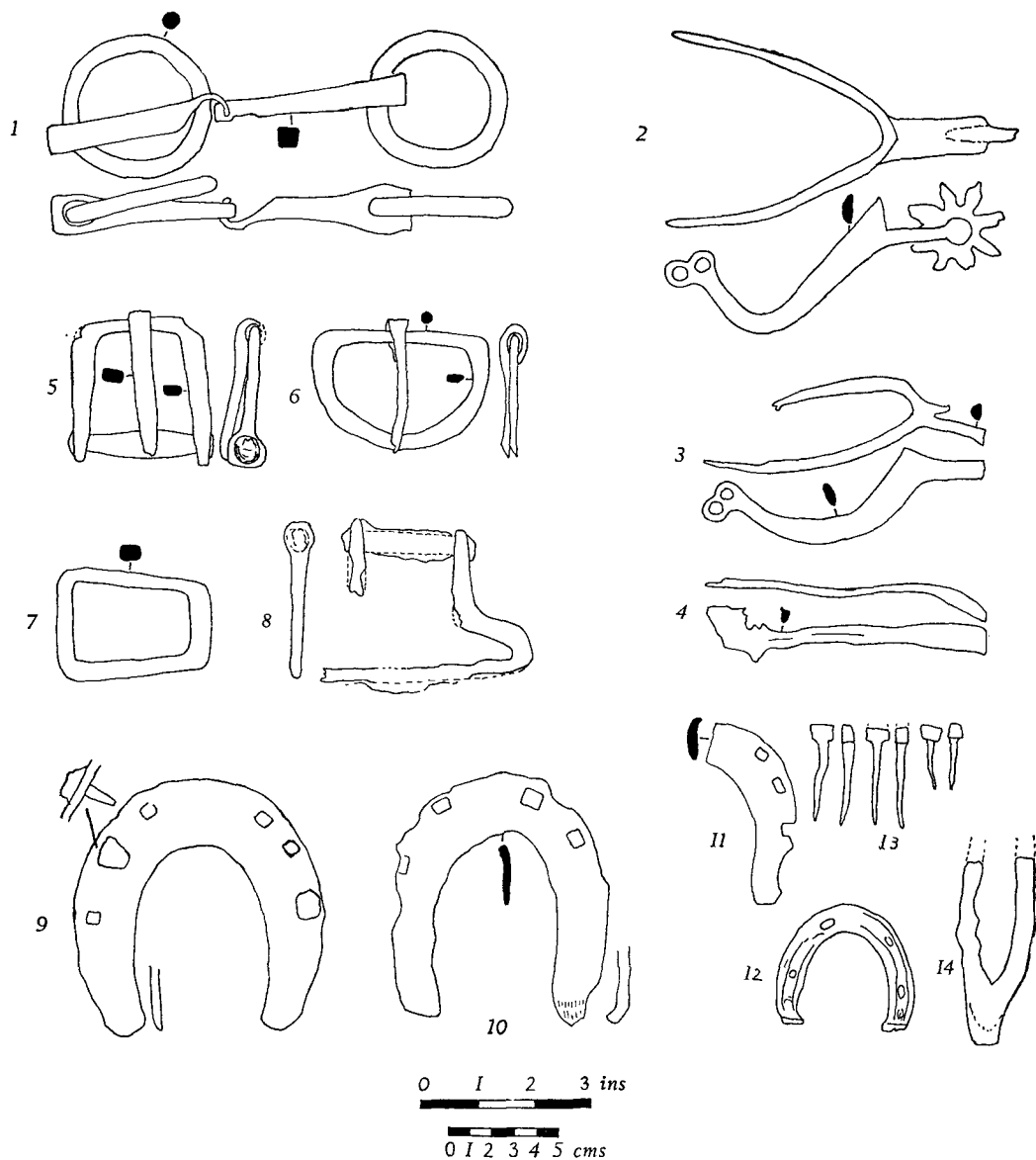


FIG 10 Ironwork

late 14th-century date. See LMMC, 114-15, for discussion of typology; compare fig 36, 12 (dated to 1361). The horse-shoes from Somerby (Mynard 1969, fig 10, 1-16) can be compared.

- 12 Horse-shoe shaped object with countersunk groove for nail holes and squared calkins. Post-medieval. A heel iron.
- 13 Horse-shoe nails. The classification of these has received detailed treatment by Jope and Threlfall (1959) and Biddle (1962). The type represented at Lochmaben is Seacourt Class 3ii, i.e. they have squared heads with flat tops. The type is distinctive of the 14th century.
- 14 Strike-a-light. This is similar to one from Castle Urquhart.
- 15 Similar object. (Not illustrated)

(b) *Miscellaneous* (fig 11)

- 16 Uncertain object, possibly a hoe. These are extremely rare in medieval contexts.
 17, 18 Knife blades. Pointed tang, straight back-blunted blade. This is the standard type of medieval knife and is undatable.
 19 Pointed iron object, possibly a double-ended awl.
 20 Candle holder. Several of these were found, with bent shank and folded-over candle grip. They are not common, but occur widely, for example at Somerby (Mynard 1969, fig 13, 94), Newcastle Carmelite Friary (Harbottle 1968, fig 18, 149), Hungate, York (Richardson 1961, fig 28, 6), and Castle Urquhart, to cite some northern examples. They are not closely datable but appear to be late medieval rather than earlier.

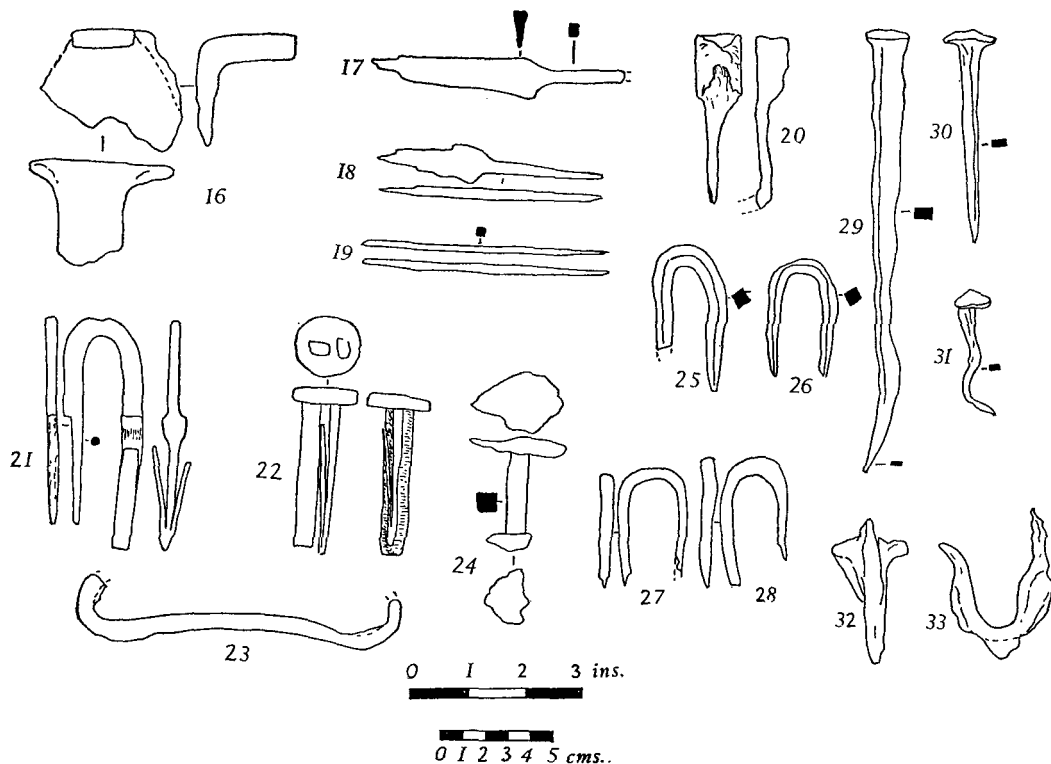


FIG 11 Ironwork

- 21 Barrel padlock bolt. Barrel padlocks were used in Scotland in the Early Christian period (at Buston Crannog, Ayrshire, in the 7th century), and barrel padlocks were current through much of the medieval and early post-medieval periods. This and the next example show that 2 types were current at Lochmaben in the 14th century. This one can be compared with Somerby (Mynard 1969, fig 13, 91).
 22 Barrel padlock bolt of 'nail' type. This can be compared closely with one from Seacourt (Biddle 1962, fig 31, 4) (pre-1400). For general discussion, cf Pitt-Rivers 1883, where a series of locks of this type is illustrated, figs 31-4. See also Pitt-Rivers 1881, pl XXII, 8.
 23 Bar with curved ends. Part of a link?
 24 Clench nail (one of several). These are common finds, and the type is discussed in Cruden 1952b, 268-9. They occur on several Scottish sites, e.g. Kirkcudbright (Dunning *et al* 1958, fig 7, 9) and Castle Urquhart.
 25-28 Staples or cleats, used in woodwork. These are common finds (e.g. at Castle Urquhart) and many were found at Lochmaben.

- 29 Large square-sectioned nail with chisel end. Possibly used in masonry and possibly recent. From the Victorian disturbance, Area A.
- 30, 31 Square-sectioned nails typical of a great many of different sizes.
- 32 Uncertain object.
- 33 Hook.

Coins (not illustrated)

- 1 Edward I, penny. London mint, Class X (bifoliate crown), sub-class uncertain. Cf North 1960, 1038-43. Date: 1302-10. Condition when lost: fine.
 - 2 Similar penny, but only half surviving. Mint? Condition when lost: fair.
- Both these coins were found in Area B, layer 5, about 0.04 m above top of pink clay.
- 3 George III, AE halfpenny, first issue, 1770-75. Condition when lost: poor. Found on top of cobbled road surface in Cutting BV.
 - 4 Victoria, AE halfpenny, bronze issue, 1860-94. Condition when lost: poor. In Victorian disturbance in Area A.

Stone

- 1 Worked flint of 'microlithic' type. This is probably not mesolithic, though this is not impossible as it is in keeping with other microliths from the region. Microliths appear to have been used as small cutting and scraping tools at all periods down to the end of the Middle Ages; they occur, for example, in large numbers on the Early Christian period site of Mote of Mark, Kirkcudbright, and one was also found at Kirkconnel, Dumfriesshire, a deserted medieval village with Early Christian period hall. (See Clough and Laing 1969, fig 6, a). (Fig 12, 3)
- 2 Perforated roof slates. Several of these were found among the disturbance in Area A. (Not illustrated)
- 3 Roughly worked sandstone ball, presumably for a catapult. 11 cm diameter. (Not illustrated)
- 4 Half catapult ball, 25 cm diameter. From Area B, lying immediately on top of clay surface. (Not illustrated)

Bone

Apart from animal bones listed in Appendix A, there was only one bone object, which was the solitary find from the Area B stone-lined drain. It was lying at the bottom, under the fill. It is a partly-worked fragment, possibly of a toggle. (Fig 12, 4)

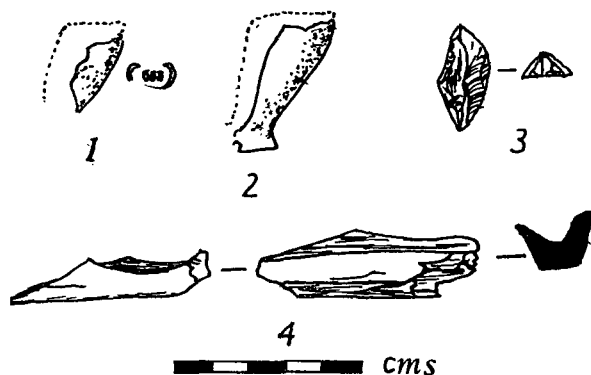


FIG 12 Miscellaneous small finds

Clay

- 1 Clay pipe bowl fragment of Broseley type, c 1650-1690. Cf Oswald 1967, fig 21, no. 15. Compare also Laing 1967, fig 7, 1-10. This has an uncertain stamp on the bowl. (Fig 12, 1)
 - 2 Clay pipe bowl, Oswald Type 7b, c 1680-1720. Cf Oswald 1955 and Laing 1967, fig 7, 12. (Fig 12, 2)
- Both these came from Area B topsoil.

Glass (not illustrated)

Fragments of green bottle glass from Area A topsoil were identified by Mrs Ruth Hurst-Vose, Pilkingtons Glass Museum, as 'from the bases of two different bottles which could date anywhere between the 1650s and the 1730s'.

The pottery (fig 13)

The pottery from Lochmaben falls into four groups. By far the largest amount comes from the occupation level on top of the pink clay and from the debris of the final palisade. It belongs accordingly to the late 14th-early 15th century. A few sherds, also from Area B, which come from the 17th-century disturbance levels, belong to the mid to late 17th century. Almost no pottery was recovered within the castle, and, surprisingly, what was recovered seems to belong to the same period as that from Area B, i.e. the period of castle construction. The fourth group consists of a few sherds recovered during earlier consolidation from primary contexts and again should be ascribed to the primary building period. The total absence of late medieval wares from inside the castle at least is puzzling; allowing for the fact that many of the light orange or buff wares with mottled green and yellow glazes may have continued quite late (as suggested by the fabric and glaze of the Rigghead, Collin hoard pot of the 16th century, discussed below), nevertheless it appears fairly certain that the heavy dark grey wares with almost stoneware fabrics and olive-green and brown lustrous glazes that are characteristic of late medieval and post-medieval pottery in much of N Britain were also current in Dumfries and Galloway; they occur, for example, on the house site in Luce Sands, Wigtown (Jope *et al* 1959), and nearer Lochmaben occur at sites like Dumfries. Absent too are the late 15th- and 16th-century forms like pipkins or heavy jugs with rilled necks and shoulders, the heavy two-handled cooking pots with thick glazes and other forms exemplified at Linlithgow and elsewhere at this period – again these occur in Dumfriesshire, so it cannot be assumed that a different pottery tradition might be expected on the site. Stonewares, so typical of 16th- and 17th-century Scottish sites, are also absent. It must therefore be assumed that in the later period of castle occupation much of the rubbish was dumped in the loch or moat – pottery, now lost, was recovered from the moat in the last century – or was removed when the site was robbed and later 'tidied up' in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The pottery is uniformly fine and sandy, a preference being shown for orange, buff and light grey. It tends to be friable, probably because of the acid soil. Glazes are lustrous and usually mottled honey and apple-green in colour, though some more even green-brown glazes can be noted. Most of the sherds recovered were of jugs, other forms being very rare. The most characteristic form seems to have been fairly squat with an ovoid body and upright rim, spouts being pinched and strap handles preferred to rod handles. Decoration is generally absent, but where it occurs is simple, taking the form of rilling or occasionally applied, impressed strips. One stamp was noted (no. 17). The swelling below the lip, so characteristic of Scottish jugs, does not appear to be very common, nor is there evidence for squared lips. In general, the appearance of the assemblage shows strong affinities with the pottery from Carlisle (Jope and Hodges 1956; Hogg 1964), though some Lochmaben forms are not matched in the material from the Tullie House excavations and vice versa.

It would seem that the bulk of the pottery was produced at the castle itself. Many wasters were recovered, including a bridge spout from the lower beam slot in Cutting VIII (no. 10), two rims from the ditch behind the lead working area (nos 25 and 26) and two bases which were badly distorted (no. 25). In addition, many other sherds showed stacking-ring marks or signs of deformity in firing which would suggest that they were 'seconds' and unlikely to have been traded very far. This would seem to confirm the theory that some Scottish castles at least made their own pottery – a theory borne out by the documentary evidence from Bothwell, Lanarkshire (Cruden 1952, 157). Apart from jugs, the only other forms were jordsans, and what appear to be jars.

A few jugs seem to have applied pads of thumbing below the rim. This device, first discussed in connection with the Carrickfergus report (Waterman 1952, 113), was suggested originally to be a late 13th-century form prevalent in the Irish Sea province – it occurs in Ireland, at Chester, and at Bristol. A second related group has also been recognised in NE England. If the Lochmaben sherds are not residual, and there is no reason to assume they are, it would suggest a continuation of the device at least a century later. The Bristol derivation for the feature seems unlikely, and it could well be originally an Ulster device (Waterman 1954; 1958).

The stamp, which compares with similar stamps from other Scottish pots, notably from Bothwell, must again be seen to be an early feature with a long life in Scotland.

In general, the most striking feature of the assemblage is its 'early' character. Prior to the excava-

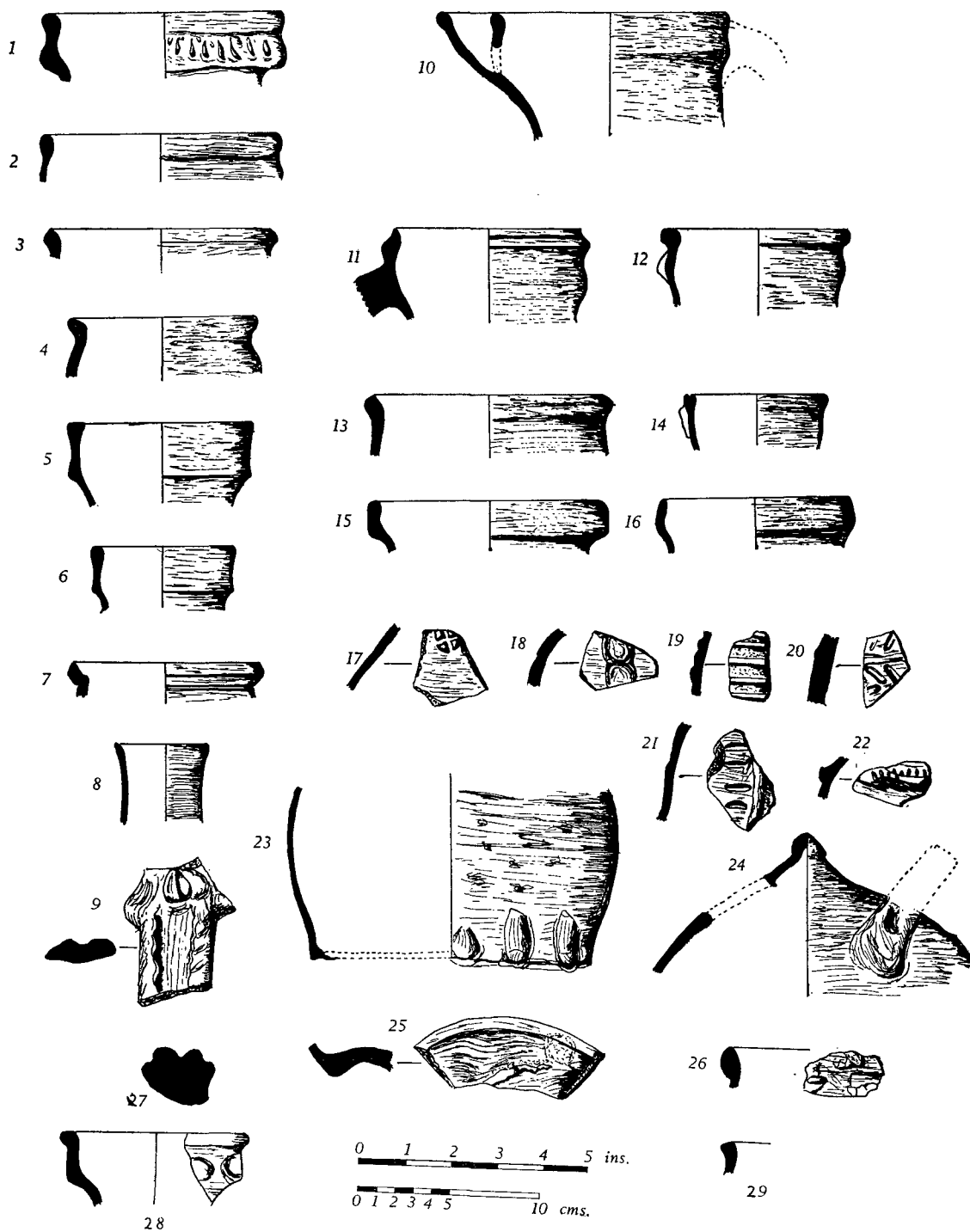


FIG 13 Pottery

tions it was already apparent that the same fabrics and glazes have a long life in SW Scotland – the pot containing the Dumfries hoard was identical in fabric and glaze to that from Rigghead, though the former was coin-dated to *c* 1310, the latter to *c* 1554 – now it is clear that not only fabric and glaze have a long life, but forms as well. Most of the Lochmaben pottery would not be out of place in late 13th- or early 14th-century Carlisle. Only one import was noted – a small body-sherd of late Saintonge green glazed jug. It came unfortunately from the late make-up above the final medieval occupation level in Area B, but would be in keeping with a late 14th- or 15th-century date. It shows that the trade in pottery (and presumably wine?) with SW Scotland, that started with the jugs from Glenluce (Cruden 1952b, 179) and Kirkcudbright (Dunning *et al* 1958, 117–39) in the 13th century, continued in subsequent periods.

Very little 17th-century pottery was recovered, but the presence of slipware is interesting, as it is relatively rare in Scotland and was presumably made in Staffordshire or elsewhere in the Midlands.

- 1 Jug rim, orange-buff ware with uneven green/brown glaze. From the lower beam slot in Cutting B VIII. Collar with fingernail incised decoration.
- 2 Rim of jug, light orange ware tending to grey on exterior. Mottled light green/brown/yellow glaze. Notch on rim at fracture, possibly to indicate position of handle – a device apparent on many of the Caerlaverock pots. Simple swollen rim.
- 3 Jug rim, orange sandy fabric, no apparent glaze.
- 4 Jug rim in similar fabric to no. 3, but with flecks of honey coloured glaze.
- 5 Upright jug rim, light grey gritty fabric, traces of brown glaze.
- 6 Similar jug rim, but with rounded rather than flattened top. Orange gritty ware, traces of exterior fuming and spots of medium green glaze.
- 7 Small everted jug rim with internal bevel for lid seating, and external groove at shoulder junction. Buff ware, fumed on lip, with brown glaze. Area A1, unstratified.
- 8 Bottle rim. Straight lip with slight internal bevel. Sandy orange ware with spots of honey coloured glaze. Area A1, from top of gravel foundation platform make-up.
- 9 Strap handle of jug, sandy fabric, grey interior, orange exterior. Medium green/brown glaze. Decorated with finger tipping.
- 10 Badly made spout of bridge-spouted jug with simple rim. Orange sandy ware, tending to dark buff on interior. Brown-green lustrous glaze. Stacking ring mark on rim. From lower beam slot, Area B Cutting VIII.
- 11 Rim and part of strap handle of jug. Light orange sandy ware, with uneven green and honey coloured glaze.
- 12 Rim and strap handle attachment of jug in orange friable ware with green/orange mottled lustrous glaze.
- 13 Rim of jug in grey sandy ware with light green/brown glaze.
- 14 Rim of jug in friable orange ware with light brown glaze. Traces of strap handle attachment. Bifid rim.
- 15 Rim of jug in grey gritty ware with orange exterior. Mottled green/brown glaze.
- 16 Rim of jug in hard orange ware with grey core. Splashes of orange/green glaze.
- 17 Body sherd of jug with incised stamp of a cross in a circle. Sandy orange ware tending to grey on exterior. Brown glaze. The stamp was used on a bowl at Bothwell (Cruden 1952a, 159, fig 48).
- 18 Body sherd of jug in light grey sandy ware with brown/green glaze. Decorated with applied thumbled strip. This device was current at Bothwell (Cruden 1952a, 142, fig 5).
- 19 Body sherd of jug in grey gritty ware with dirty green glaze. Rilled exterior surface.
- 20 Body sherd of jug in fine grey ware. Decorated with incised 'plant' motif. Dirty green glaze.
- 21 Body sherd of jug in hard orange ware with lustrous light green glaze. Decorated with applied strip from which come incised lines.
- 22 Body sherd of jug in similar fabric with orange/green glaze. Decorated with applied curved strip with incised lines.
- 23 Base of ovoid jug with widely spaced thumbing. Hard orange ware with orange glaze.
- 24 Globular jordan in orange sandy ware with yellow/brown glaze.
- 25 Badly distorted waster of jug in orange/buff ware with medium green splashes of glaze. Underside has stacking ring mark.
- 26 Very distorted jug rim waster, apparently with perforation. Light orange sandy ware with grey core. Traces of brown glaze. From Ditch B, lower fill, Area B.
- 27 Rod handle of jug, grey core, orange exterior. Lustrous green/brown glaze.

- 28 Jug rim in hard light grey ware with yellow-brown glaze. Applied pad of clay and traces of strap handle attachment. Cf Waterman 1952, fig 3, 5 and discussion 113. The type seems to be 14th–15th century.
- 29 Everted jug rim in orange sandy ware. Apparently unglazed.
- 30 Plain base of jug (i.e. without finger impressions) but with knifing. Grey ware with orange exterior, mottled green/brown glaze. (Not illustrated)

All the above sherds come from Area B except where otherwise stated, and come from the layer 0.02 m thick immediately overlying the surface of the pink clay.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Excavations were carried out for a total period of 14 weeks in the period from 1968 to 1972. Throughout the excavation work was carried out by the Caerlaverock squad of the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Public Building and Works (later Department of the Environment), assisted in 1971–72 by a volunteer force mainly from Liverpool University. The surveys on which figs 3 and 5 are based were carried out by Mr J Cartwright of the MPBW planning office. In 1972 Miss J C Johnson was site supervisor, and Mr R Jones acted as site assistant. Specialist reports on charcoals and bones were submitted by Dr Alan Hayes of the Dept of Forestry, Edinburgh University, and Miss Barbara Noddle, of Cardiff University. The glass was examined by Mrs Ruth Vose of Pilkingtons Glass Museum. To all the above people we are grateful for their help during the excavation. We are also grateful to Mr David Longley and Miss Michele Elford for their help in the preparation of the illustrations for this report, and to Mr Ian Goodall of RCHAM (England) at York for his comments on the ironwork.

APPENDIX A

Report on animal bones

by *Miss Barbara Noddle*, Cardiff University

Group I (from Area AI, Victorian disturbance)

Bovine Shaft radius, width at nutrient foramen 40 mm; mature cervical vertebra; tibia distal immature. These bones must have come from two animals, one mature (over 4 years old); one probably less than 3 years old.

Group II (from immediately above pink clay, Area B, layers 5 and 7)

Bovine Distal humerus, width across condyles 67 mm; lower third molar; upper second molar; patella; metacarpal proximal fragment; immature lumbar vertebra; epiphysis of ilium; Prox femur immature; premolar; two incisors.

These bones could come from a single animal aged about 3 years.

Sheep Pelvis fragment; lower molar.

Pig Mastoid process of skull.

Horse Six lower molars.

APPENDIX B

Report on the charcoals

by *Alan Hayes*, Edinburgh University

Sample I (from the 'palisade' in Area B). All four samples are of slow grown oak, and judging from the slight curvature of the annual rings must have come from relatively large pieces of timber.

Sample II (from hearth I, Area B). This is almost certainly birch.

APPENDIX C

Some medieval ironwork from Castle Urquhart, Inverness

by *L R Laing*

Castle Urquhart, situated on a promontory on Loch Ness, is probably one of the best known Scottish castles. It was built on the site of a vitrified fort, and the earliest occupation comprises a motte with a double bailey, probably of the 12th century, which was refurbished with stone defences in the 14th. Much of the surviving structure post-dates 1509, when the castle came into the possession of the Chiefs of Grant.

The site is notable for its range of medieval antiquities, found during consolidation work by the Ministry of Works in the 1920s. The collection as a whole is worthy of full publication, but this note is confined to the ironwork in the reserve collection of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, as it is of particular value for comparison with Lochmaben ironwork and the remarkable and large collection from the wet moat of Caerlaverock Castle, also in Dumfriesshire. Apart from these collections, the known ironwork from medieval Scotland is confined to a few pieces from a limited range of sites, mostly unpublished, except for the late 13th-century finds from Kirkcudbright Castle (Dunning *et al* 1958) and the finds from a house site at Luce Sands (Jope *et al* 1959). The catalogue comprises a selection of typical pieces (fig 14).

Arrowheads

- 1 Bolt-shaped arrowhead with socket and diamond-section head. This is a late medieval type, developed in response to improved body armour. Compare LMMC 1954 (1967 reprint), fig 16, 7 and fig 17, 8. They appear soon after the mid-13th century at Dyserth Castle, Flintshire, and Rayleigh Castle, Essex, but are not common before 1300. This example is probably late 14th or 15th century. L1923.50
- 2 Arrowhead with flat, broad head and long socket. This is an early medieval type, rare after 1300. See LMMC 1954 (1967 reprint), fig 16, 3. This compares closely with a late 13th-century example from Rayleigh Castle, but could be as early as the late 12th century. L1923.38
- 3 Small socketed arrowhead with socket running the length of the blade. Very late medieval. L1923.37
- 4 Similar arrowhead, but larger, and with a laurel-leaf rather than a diamond-leaf blade. This, and (3) above, may both have been cross-bow bolts. Compare Luce Sands house site (Jope *et al* 1959, fig 94, 12), which is 15th century. L1923.41
- 5 Arrowhead of general type similar to no. 1. 15th century. L1923.52

Edge tools and weapons

- 6 Upper part of dagger, with tang formed by folding over the metal. L1923.63
- 7 Upper part of kidney or rondel dagger, with longer tang.
- 8 Knife, with tang similarly formed to no. 6 and of square section. This is the 'scramasax' type of knife, and is virtually undatable, occurring in contexts from the Early Christian period onwards in Scotland.
- 9 Iron knife with rivet holes for attaching bone or wooden plates and with a brass mounting. Post-medieval, probably 17th century. This type of knife came into fashion in the 14th century (Biddle 1963, 172). L1923.47

Horsegear

- 10 Rowel spur. Rowel missing, shank and body almost straight, slight twist in the shank. First quarter of the 17th century. Compare the examples from Kildrummy Castle, Aberdeenshire (Apted 1963, fig 13, 41), and Linlithgow Palace, West Lothian (Laing 1969, fig 2, 3). L1962.1561
- 11 Harness buckle, with attachment ring.
- 12 Similar buckle, with incised linear decoration. The type of harness buckle represented by this and no. 11 is found at Lochmaben Castle in the late 14th century, but is virtually undatable. L1923.36
- 13 Strike-a-light, oval with pointed ends. L1923.81
- 14 Strike-a-light, rectangular. Strike-a-lights are relatively common, and are present at Caerlaverock. L1923.82

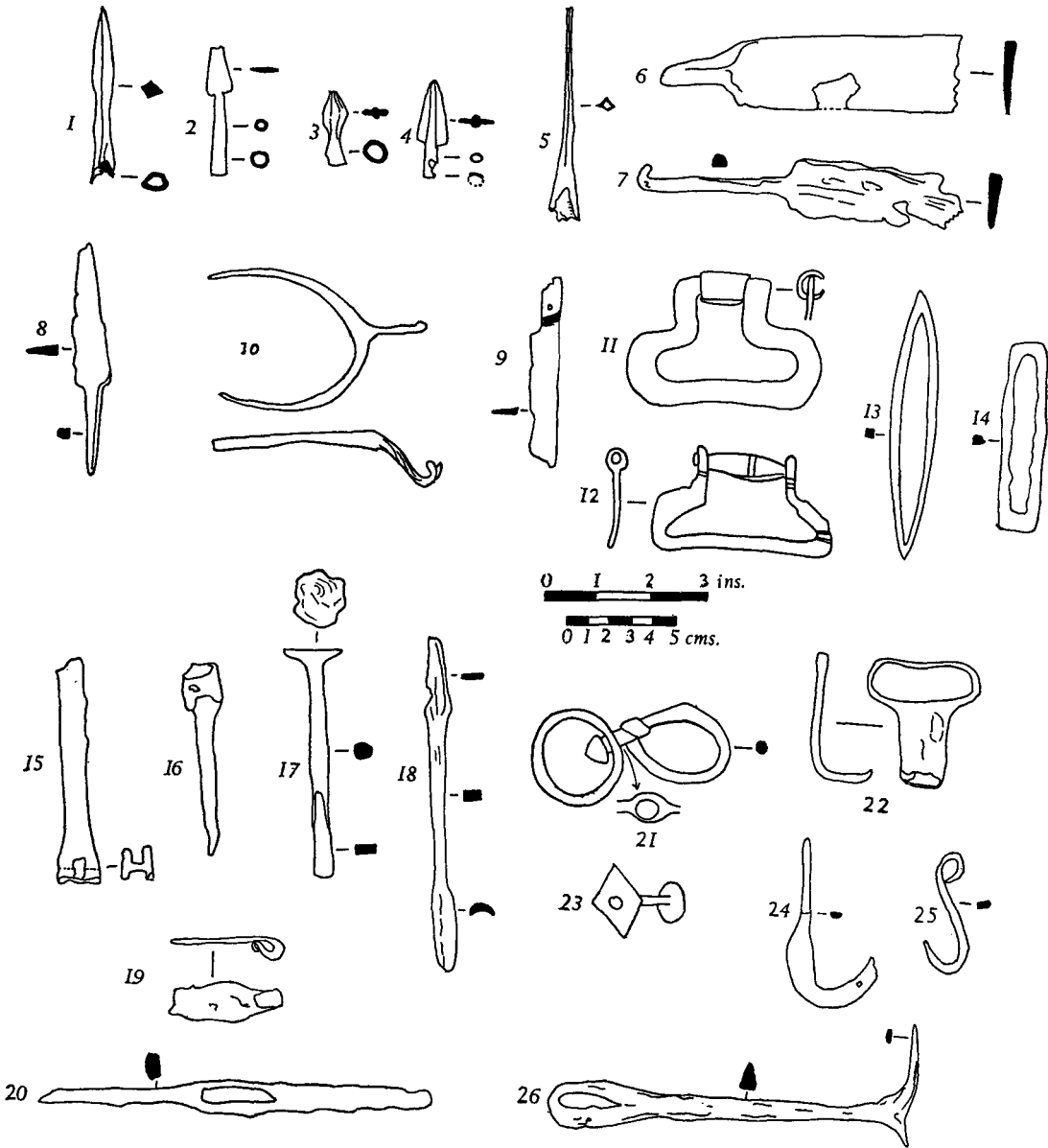


FIG 14

Miscellaneous ironwork

- 15 Barrel padlock key. A common medieval type. Compare LMMC 1954 (1967 reprint), fig 45, 9, or the examples from Somerby, Lincs (Mynard 1969, fig 12, IW 72-73), or Seacourt (Biddle 1963, fig 31, 2). L1923.89
- 16 Rush light or candle holder. Several of these were found at Lochmaben Castle, and the type is represented at Somerby (Mynard 1969, fig 13, IW 94, where it is described as an implement), Seacourt (Biddle 1963, fig 30, 1) and the Newcastle Carmelite Friary (Harbottle 1968, fig 18, 149). L1923.69

- 17 Nail-headed gouge or chisel. L1923.128
- 18 Double-ended chisel or spoon-bit. Two similar objects are published from Somerby (Mynard 1969, fig 13, IW 87-88). L1923.64
- 19 Uncertain iron object, probably the end of a strap hinge. Compare one from Somerby (Mynard 1969, fig 13, IW 80). L1923.89
- 20 Iron bar with central socket. Possibly a small pick?
- 21 Tether. There are several of these from Castle Urquhart, and they are known from other Scottish sites. One was found at Somerby, where it was suggested it was a harness fitting (Mynard 1969, fig 11, IW 29). L1923.77
- 22 Strap attachment. L1923.96
- 23 Iron clench nail. These are common on medieval sites, for example Lochmaben and Caerlaverock, Kirkcudbright and Luce Sands. The type is discussed in Jope *et al* 1959, 268. L1923.94
- 24 Hook with flattened loop perforated with a nail hole. Of uncertain purpose. L1923.99
- 25 Simple twist hook. L1923.95
- 26 Grapple, or double hook, with loop-perforated head. L1923.90

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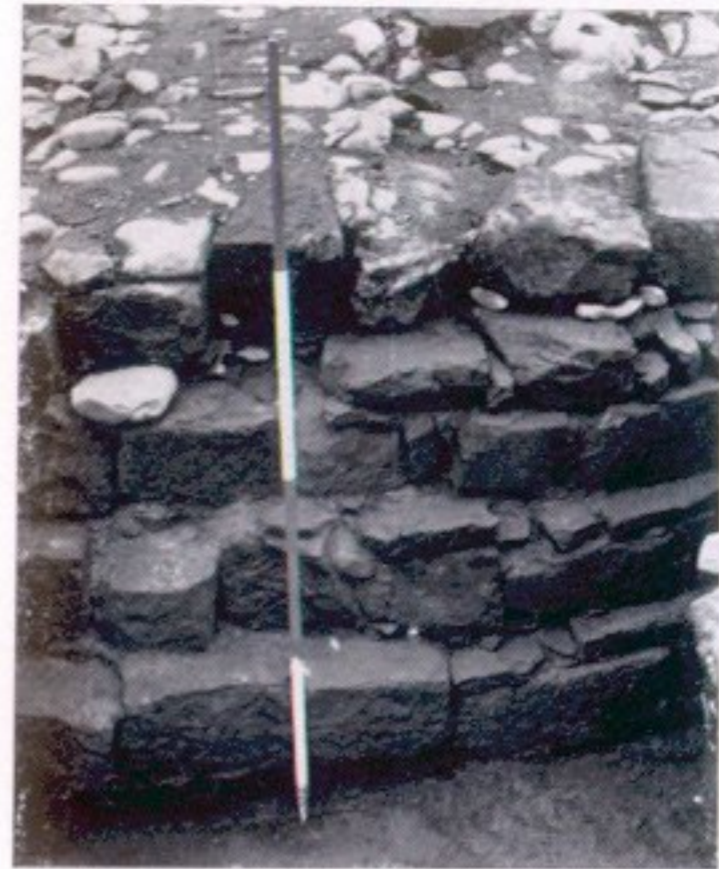
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a Ashlar splay of moat with robbed core of wall, E of counterweight pit



b S side of AI platform



c Platform and wall 5, AI, from SE